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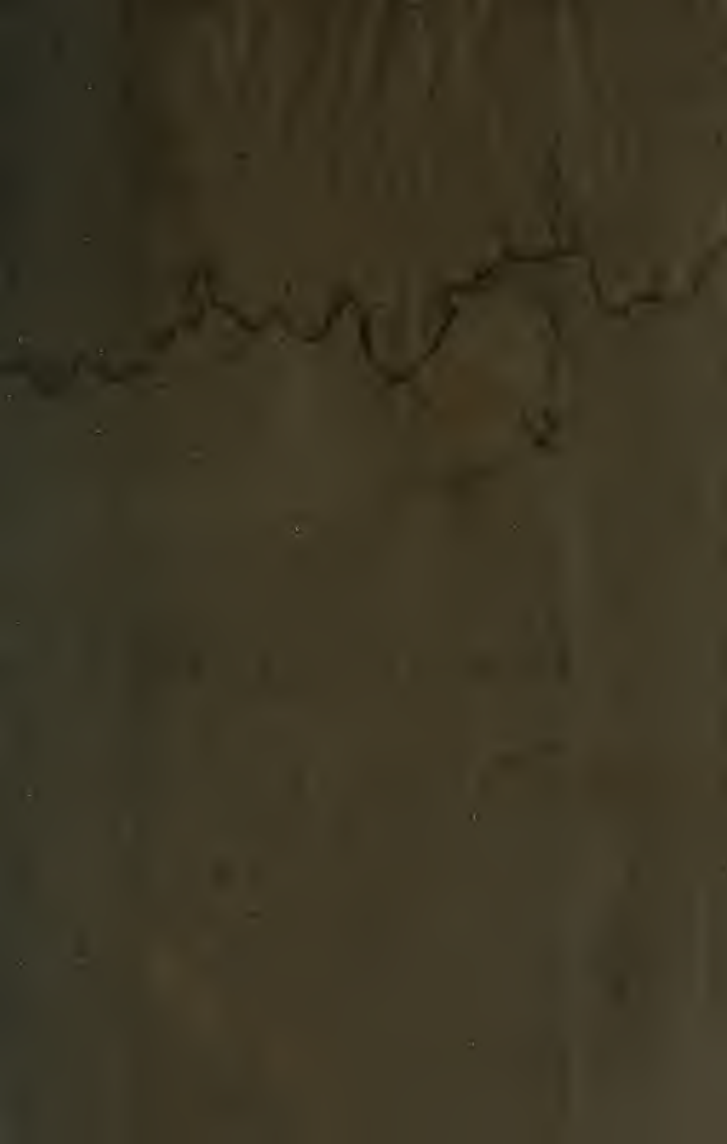
Diocesan Histories

Asaph





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DIOCESAN HISTORIES.

ST. ASAPH.

BY THE

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“HISTORY OF ST. ASAPH, DIOCESAN, CATHEDRAL AND PAROCHIAL”
Y FFYRDD YNG NGHRIST, HEN EGLWYS EIN TADAU, ETC.

WITH MAP.

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ST. ASAPH.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEE.

WHEN Cyndeyrn (Kentigernus), Bishop of the Strath Clyde Britons, whose diocese extended from the Clyde to the Mersey and whose see was at Penrhyn Rhionydd (Glasgow), surnamed Mungo (*i.e.*, Mwyngu, the amiable), was driven, about the middle of the sixth century, an exile from his northern diocese, he betook himself at once to Mynyw (Menevia), the then famous see of St. David. Speeding thence, with the good archbishop's blessing, he appears to have followed as far as Nidum (Neath), the course of the Via Julia; by the side of which the beautifully-situated church of Llan-gyndeyrne still hands down the memorial of his presence. From Nidum he turned northwards, and took the line of the British track-way of "Sarn Sws," until after skirting the southern slopes of the "Berwyn" range, he crossed the hills of Yale into the Vale of the Clwyd, where a beautiful spot, at the confluence (*aber*) of the Clwyd and Elwy, presented an ideal site for a religious settlement.¹ It was an elevated platform at

¹ In the resemblance of the words "Sws" to "Sus," = a sow, and "Aber" in early Welsh "aper" to aper = a boar, and in the suffix "wyn" = white in Berwyn, we see the origin of the legend which represents Kentigern to have been directed to the spot by a white boar.

the northern end of the Vale, which stretches for twenty miles between lofty ranges of hills, and opens northwards to the sea. From these hills he might, on a clear day, oftentimes discern the summits of his own dear mountains; whilst the very name of the river and the vale would remind him of his native Clyde. Here, then, the little band set to work to prepare the ground, and to build for their common worship a church of timber, and for themselves houses and workshops. Very vividly does the saint's biographer describe their activity and zeal. "Some were busy clearing the site, some in levelling it, and others in cutting the foundations. Some carried the materials, whilst others planed the timbers and compacted them together, *in British fashion*, with skill and speed, to form the needed buildings." For as in the older, but kindred, institution at Bangor-Iscoed, so here also it was intended to combine the several purposes of worship and education, agriculture and the manual arts. "From north and south, and east and west, they swarmed like bees into a hive," and the little band soon swelled into an extensive community; till tradition reports the members to have reached the number of 965, "who lived together in monastic discipline and served God with great abstinence." Of these, 300, who were illiterate, were employed in tilling the ground and looking after the cattle; another 300 were occupied with the preparation of food, and the other requirements of the establishment; while the remaining 365, who were skilled in learning, were charged with the performance of divine worship, in such sort that daily throughout the year

the services of the sanctuary were carried on in un-failing succession.¹

So long as the district, however beautiful its surroundings, was occupied by swamps and forests, Caswallon Lawhir—(Cassibelan of the Long Hand), the then King of Gwynedd (North Wales), was no doubt favourable to the settlement therein of Cyndeyrn and his little band, and he was too much engaged in expelling the Gwyddelod (the Irish), to pay much attention to its development; but when Maelgwn Gwynedd had succeeded him on the throne, and the Gwyddelod had been driven out, the altered aspect of the locality, the great attraction which drew to it so many of his subjects, and the claims of sanctuary which it asserted in the face of his imperious will, appear to have stirred up his jealousy; and he set himself to oppose its progress, and even its existence. But, becoming in time converted to a better mind, he ended by showing himself its great promoter and patron. Perhaps he was the more moved to this by the recall of Cyndeyrn to his diocese in the north; and the appointment of Asa, or Asaph, a native of the immediate locality and one of his own subjects, may have been the seal of his reconciliation. Suffice it to state that King Maelgwn was as much honoured in his later years for his munificence in its support as the Triads describe him to have been in his earlier days, "Wise in council and brave in war." At all events, it is to him that

¹ This rule is still borne witness to in the title of "Cursal" Canons; *i.e.* cursalis, from "cursus," a course.

the earliest records attribute the endowments of which man's memory then had no remembrance ; and the tradition was so far consistent with fact that, whereas the major part of the land bestowed upon the see lay within the compass of its immediate neighbourhood, the remainder was found in the district that intervened between Llanelwy and his palace at Dyganwy, on the banks of the river Conwy.

The visit of Cyndeyrn to St. David suffices to indicate that the origin of the see belongs to a period when the British Church had long been in existence and possessed a regular organisation, however much of the country may have still remained un-christianised. We are, therefore, happily relieved from the inquiry, which belongs more properly to the elder sisters of Llandaff and St. David's as to when and by whom, under what conditions, and through what chain of circumstances Christianity was first introduced into these islands. But there are some matters, connected with the intervening period, which require to be touched upon, as well for their relation to the area of this diocese as for the light they throw upon its religious institutions and its previous history. Of these, the first is the great "Pelagian controversy," which convulsed the Church at the beginning of the fifth century. Morgan (Greco-Latinised into "Pelagius") is said to have been a member of the College of Bangor-is-Coed, within the principality of Powys, and to have been eminent for his learning and piety and sanctity of life. His very errors appear to support this probability ; for just as Bangor was for North Wales

the chief seat of religion and learning, so the Pelagian heresy seems to have arisen from an attempt to combine some of the principles of Druidism with those of Christianity. From the Druidic "conception of God in nature, underlying and reflected in the powers of the universe and a consequent reverence for all created things, and a gentleness towards every living thing in that it contained a particle of divine truth," the step was neither far, nor unnatural, to the Pelagian tenet, that there is no such thing as original sin, but that man was able to work out his own salvation without the assistance of grace. So again, the Druidic notion of the immortality of the soul, "not unlike that of the Vedânta sect of Hinduism," that it was "as it were a spark from the all-embracing Spirit to be reabsorbed again into the parent flame, whenever by contemplation and suffering in one or more stages of existence, it has freed itself from whatever disqualifies it for union with the Deity"¹ was practically not far removed from the Pelagian doctrine that man could "by his natural powers so attain to a state of perfection as not to be subject to passion or sin." But these tenets were seen to be utterly at variance with Christian teaching, which puts forward as its great central facts the doctrines of the Fall and the Atonement. And so an appeal was at once made by the Church of Britain to the great Gallican Communion for its assistance in counteracting this dangerous heresy. Garmon (St. Germanus), bishop of Auxerre, the most

¹ "The Ancient British Church." Pryce, 14.

learned and pious of the Gallican bishops, was thereupon deputed by his brethren in synod assembled to undertake this mission, and with him was associated Bleiddyn (Lupus), bishop of Troyes. This visit occurred in A.D. 429, and the result, according to Constantius, the biographer of St. Garmon, was a speedy and triumphant confutation of the Pelagians. But it does not seem to have been either final or complete; for the heresy again revived, and Garmon was, A.D. 447, a second time commissioned on the same service, and accompanied this time by Severus, bishop of Treves. The success of this mission and the veneration in which he was afterwards held are attested by the many churches which bear his name: and their situation even supplies a rough clue to the course of this portion of his visit. From St. Harmon's, in the commote of Gwrthreinion,—where a legend, given in Nennius, connects him with an act of ecclesiastical discipline upon Gwrtheyrn, the regulus of the district, the very name of which, he says, was changed in commemoration of the circumstance to Gwarenniaron (Gwarthrunion): “quod Latine sonat calumnia juste retorta,”—we trace him through Castle Caereinion to Llan-Armon in Mechain (*hodie* Llanfechain), and thence into Mochnant, where Llan-Armon Mynydd Mawr hands down his name. . . . From hence he followed the same line which Cyndeyrn subsequently traversed—to Llan-Armon in Dyffryn Ceiriog, and onwards thence into Yale,—where another Llan-Armon is held to occupy the site, on which he celebrated the divine office on the night before he engaged the Pelagian

adversaries on the field of Maes-Garmon near Mold. This engagement, which has been handed down as "The Halleluiatic Victory," was most probably a contest of *words* rather than of blows—a controversy rather than a battle. "During the holy days of Lent," we are told by Beda (i. 20), "the people, instructed by daily sermons, resorted in crowds to the grace of baptism, . . . and a church was prepared with boughs for the Feast of the Resurrection of our Lord. The army advanced, still wet with the baptismal water,—the faith of the people was strengthened,—Germanus led them on. The adversaries [described as the *Saxons* and Picts, but that is a manifest anachronism] were the first to begin; then Germanus, bearing in his hand the standard, instructed his men, all in a loud voice, to repeat his words; and the enemy advancing securely, as thinking to take them by surprise, the priests three times cried 'Hallelujah.' A universal shout of the same word followed. The enemy fled in disorder, and so the prelates triumphed without bloodshed, and gained a victory by faith without human force." Indeed, the whole history seems more appropriate to describe some great Church council—possibly the un-identified, but traditionally later, "*Synodus Victoriæ*,"—than an actual battle of armed warriors. In any case, it formed an epoch in the religious history of the country in that it effectually checked the spread of Pelagianism, and secured for the sacrament of baptism its proper position in the scheme of Christian doctrine and polity.

Another witness to the close inter-communion which then existed between the British and the Gallican Churches is supplied by the veneration in which the memory of St. Hilary of Arles and St. Martin of Tours was held, and by the number of churches dedicated in their names. And it is further confirmed by the missionary labours of Cadvan, Tydecho, Mael, and Sulien in the Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire portions of the diocese, whither they had fled from Armorica on the advance of Clovis, A.D. 510. Indeed, there are good reasons for believing that these districts, together with parts, at least, of Cardiganshire, Radnorshire and Shropshire, once formed the early diocese of Llanbadarn, of which their countryman, St. Padarn, was the founder and first bishop. Whether, however, they were the first planters, or only the revivers of a Christianity weakened by Pelagianism, in the districts that bear them such honour, it is not possible to decide ; but it is tolerably certain that there were other parts where the native Church carried on its work from its central colleges—or monasteries as they were called, but, as we should now say, clergy houses,—with more or less success. Such were those of Dogfan in Mochnant, of Gwyddvarch in Meifod (Mechain), of Dyfnog in Cinmeirch, of Ieuan Gwas Batric in Dinmael, and others elsewhere. The difficulties which had to be encountered, the blind opposition and the credulous facility with which, in many instances, the opposition was overcome, during the first foundation of these missionary centres, have become, in the course of transmission, so encrusted

with legends, that they have come down to us in "the Lives of the Saints" rather as allegorical descriptions than as simple records of the facts. A general similarity of circumstances, however, is traceable in all. The missionary band is at first opposed by the local chieftain, partly from suspicion and partly from fear; but soon gains for itself reputation by virtue of some miracle, and then becomes a centre of attraction, where the arts of civilisation are fostered and the truths of the Christian faith are taught. From these headquarters, in process of time, members radiated outwards to the surrounding country, co-terminous with the authority of the local chieftain. Resulting from this—for the Church was the great organiser and civiliser of the age—there arose, in time, a further limitation into cantreds, or hundreds, with their own ecclesiastical organisation; and, later still, as Christianity became more diffused and converts multiplied, mission stations in the first instance, and then settled churches, were established in each commote or division of the hundred,—not, indeed, as independent, but more or less subordinate to the Mother Church. In the laws of Hywel Dda, A.D. 914–928, there are very definite regulations for the appropriation of new endowments to the Mother Church and its chapelries, and what proportion of his tithes a new founder should assign to the former and what to the latter, or to the stipend of his domestic chaplain (*offeiriad teulu*). But, as many of these "laws" were but the "re-enactment, or digest, of an earlier code of Welsh canons, dating from about the seventh century," we see that the Church.

must have been well organised at a very early period.¹

The most memorable event in this earlier portion of our history was undoubtedly the arrival of St. Augustine and his controversy with the native British bishops, an event pregnant with great consequences for this kingdom and a controversy in which this diocese was intimately concerned.

His mission to the heathen Saxons, his landing at Thanet, and his reception by Æthelberht, who assigned to him the little church of St. Martin's in Canterbury, where Bertha, his queen, had been used to worship, being parts of the general Church history of the kingdom, only affect us now by their witness to the earlier Christianity of the country. His endeavour to enlist the co-operation of the British bishops, and the grounds of their refusal, have, however, a very special interest for us, as bringing out some of the distinctive features of that earlier system. It is a misfortune, in one respect, that we are dependent for our account of the controversy upon one who shows such strong prejudice as Beda ; but it will, on the other hand, leave us the more free to accept what he does state as at the least not biased in favour of the Britons. Beda was born just seventy years after the event, and we may therefore assume that he has transmitted to us the version that most approved itself to his historical research ; for it is with the mission of St. Augustine that he ceased to be a compiler and began to be an historian.

¹ "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," Haddan and Stubbs, i. Appendix A, p. 127 and p. 211.

He tells us (book ii., chap. 2), that about the year A.D. 603, "Augustine, with the assistance of K. Aedilberct, drew together to a conference the bishops, or doctors, of the nearest province of the Britons, at a place to that day called 'Augustine's Ac,' on the borders of the Huiccii and West Saxons." This was most probably at *Aust-Clive*, on the Severn, the *Trajectus* (Welsh, *Trawst*) of the Romans, the Old Passage of later times, at the junction of the two provinces of Britannia Prima and Britannia Secunda, and on the great highway between Canterbury and St. David's. The "brotherly admonitions" with which Augustine began and the "rebukes" by which he followed them up proved equally unavailing, and it was only when recourse was had to a miracle, as so often the case in like circumstances, that the matter was settled. "The adverse party *unwillingly* consenting, a blind man of the race of the *Angles* was brought, and he having received no benefit from the ministry of the Britons was immediately healed by Augustine." This, of course, according to Beda's notions, ought to have settled the question; but the Britons "could not cast off their ancient customs without the consent and leave of their people. They therefore desired that a synod might be again appointed, at which more of their number would be present."

From this it would appear that, at this first conference, only a portion of the British Church was represented, probably South Wales and, perhaps, Damnonia (Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall). At the second conference there was a fuller representation.

There came "seven bishops of the Britons, and many most learned men, particularly from their most noble monastery, which, in the language of the Angles, is called Bancorriaburg, over which the Abbot Dinoth is said to have presided at that time." It does not appear from this that Dinoth himself took part in the conference; indeed, the inference would be that he did not, and we therefore pass over the speech which tradition has assigned to him on the occasion. But there is much probability in the statement that they first "consulted a certain holy and discreet man who was wont to lead an eremitical life among them." And we may not be far wrong in identifying him. The monastery of Bangor-is-Coed, on the Dee, had been founded by the princes of Powys, and was the chief seat of learning in their principality, the eastern side of which was exposed for its whole length to the English invaders. The West Saxons had already advanced once as far as Chester, had burnt Uriconium to the ground, and had forced the princes of Powys from their capital at Pengwern (Shrewsbury) westwards into Wales. The Mercians, too, were ever pressing onwards through the Midlands, and fast encroaching on their flanks. And when they now saw Augustine coming under the protection of Ethelberht, we can well understand Dinoth, himself a retired warrior and brother-in-law of Brochwel Ysgythrog, the reigning prince, urging his countrymen to consult the famous hermit, as they would at the same time be able to take counsel with the court of Brochwel, before the site of whose now ruined castle at Mathrafal there rises in the beautiful vale of Meifod a lofty hill, the name

of which is not unlikely derived from this very episode —“Gallt yr Ancr”—the Hill of the Hermit. Such a proceeding would well coincide with the statement of the Britons, “that they could not cast off their ancient customs without the consent and leave of their people”; and the place of consultation would almost lie in their way from Bangor to the place of conference. After much and angry disputation, Augustine summarised the issue in the following terms:—“You act in many particulars contrary to our customs, or rather to the custom of the universal Church, and yet if you will comply with me in these three points, viz., to keep Easter at the due time; to perfect the administration of baptism, by which we are born again to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church; and jointly with us to preach the Word of God to the nation of the Angles, we will readily tolerate all other things you do, though contrary to our customs.” These conditions the Britons rejected, and along with them a fourth, which is implied in their answer, that “they would do none of those things, nor receive him as their archbishop.” Then Augustine, in a threatening manner, foretold that, in case they would not join in peace with their brethren, they should be warred upon by their enemies; and if they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they should, at their hands, undergo the vengeance of death,—all which, Beda goes on to tell us, fell out exactly as he had predicted. “For Ædilfrid, the war-like king of the English, having raised a mighty army, made a very great slaughter of that perfidious nation, at ‘the City of the Legions,’

which by the English is called Legacæstir, but by the Britons more correctly Carlegion (Chester)." This occurred in the year A.D. 613, and on this occasion some "twelve hundred of the monks of Bangor," who, after a three days fast, had gone forth with others to pray for the success of their Christian fellow-countrymen, and were placed under the protection of the aged Brochwel, were ruthlessly slain by order of Ædilfrid, because they opposed him with their imprecations." In the "very great slaughter" there fell among others Selyf ap Cynan, the grandson of Brochwel, and King Cadell. This reverse must have been a terrible blow to the Britons, though some authorities assert that Cadvan, king of Gwynedd, as generalissimo, Morgan, king of Dyfed, and Blederic, king of Dyfnaint (Devon and Cornwall), joined their forces with those of Powys, and speedily avenged the defeat by the overthrow of Ædilfrid, on the banks of the Dee. At all events, we find from this time onward the struggle for conquest again and again renewed. In A.D. 620, Edwin of Northumbria advanced against Cadwallawn, the son and successor of Cadvan, and defeated him in the bloody battle of Caer Digoll, or the Long Mountain, thence described in the Triads as one of "the three discolourings of the Severn." Twelve years later, returning from exile in Ireland, Cadwallawn married the sister of Penda of Mercia, and, with his aid, defeated and slew Edwin; but he was himself defeated and slain by Oswald, in the following year, at Denisbourne. Another ten years, and we find Oswald and Penda engaged in a deadly struggle at Maserfeld, where Oswald's army

was routed and himself slain, and his mangled remains exposed in derision on a cross hard by, which thence came to be called "Croes Oswallt," or "Oswald's treow," the present Oswestry. From this time the Welsh, who were cut off alike from their kinsmen in Cumbria and Strathclyde to the north and from those in Devon and Cornwall to the south, appear to have been left in peace as far as external enemies were concerned until Offa, king of Mercia, at the close of the eighth century, renewed the struggle for supremacy, and by virtue of his great victory on Rhuddlan Marsh confined the Britons within the limits of the dyke that bears his name.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ITS POLITY.

It is evident from the controversy with Augustine, as well as from earlier testimonies, that the British Church, whatever its distinctive features, was a true and orthodox branch of the Church Catholic ; otherwise Augustine, who was so jealous a champion of the Roman customs, would never have invited its co-operation on terms that only touched its outward form. Of the two special conditions, the one touching baptism was the most important and the most difficult to understand. Very various interpretations have been given to the words, "completre baptismum." By some it has been assumed that baptism itself had fallen into disuse in consequence of the Pelagian heresy, and that Augustine now insisted on its revival ; by others, that the "Complementum Baptismi" referred to confirmation. But neither of these can be right, for the double reason that the absence of either baptism or confirmation would have been a fatal bar to communion and that confirmation is mentioned in St. Patrick's "Epistola ad Coroticum." The same epistle also makes mention of *chrism*, the absence of which was supposed by others to be the defect implied, "ut ministerium baptizandi quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et Apos-

tolicæ Ecclesiæ *completeis*." By others, again, it has been held to refer to the *manner of applying* the chrism and the ceremonious washing of the neophyte's feet at the end of baptism.¹ But the most probable solution is that which refers it to single instead of trine immersion, a custom which appears to have prevailed in Brittany, in Spain, and in parts of Gaul.² The Easter point is of peculiar interest, as showing that the British Church still adhered to the eighty-four years cycle of Sulpicius Severus, which the Roman Church had itself abandoned, first in 457 for that of Victor Aquitan, which consisted of 532 years, and subsequently, in A.D. 525, for the nineteen years cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, in order to be in harmony with the more accurate Alexandrian computation. It was long before this dispute was settled; for, in the latter part of the eighth century, Elvod of Bangor tried in vain to introduce the Roman cycle; and, "on his death in A.D. 809, there was a great tumult among the ecclesiastics on account of this question, for the bishops of Llandaff and Menevia (St. David's) would not succumb to the archbishop of Gwynedd, being themselves archbishops of older privilege."³ From this it appears that there was no one see that could claim to be metropolitan to the exclusion of the rest, but that the dignity either went by seniority—as a *primus inter pares*,—or else that it followed in some way the pre-eminence which was acquired by one or other of the divisions of the Principality, with each

¹ Dr. Rock, in "Archæologia Cambrensis," 1871, p. 16.

² "Councils and Eccles. Documents," i. 153.

³ "Brut y Tywysogion," sub ann. 755 et 809.

of which there was a conterminous bishopric; in Powys, Llanelwy (St. Asaph); in Gwynedd, Bangor; in Ceredigion, Llanbadarn; in Dyfed, Mynyw (St. David's); and in Gwent or Morganwg, Llandaff.

Another point of difference between the two Churches lay in the form of the "tonsure," which, though not mentioned in the conference, became, after the settlement of the Easter question, a source of much contention and bitterness of feeling. Gildas states that the Britons followed the Jewish fashion, and that the Romans called it the mark of Simon Magus. Its peculiarity consisted in the shaving of the entire front part of the head, and leaving the hinder part untouched; whereas the Roman custom was to leave a circle of hair round the shorn head, in imitation of the crown of thorns, and thence called the "coronal tonsure," and sometimes that of St. Peter. The British, although resembling the Eastern form, was said to have been derived from Ireland, where it was universally adopted, and probably was only a Christian adaptation of a pre-Christian or Druidic tonsure in use among the *Gradh Fili* or Graduate-Bards; and hence it was regarded, on the one side, as a mark of nationality, and, on the other, as a relic of heathenism. Thus, in the sixty-first of the "*Canones Wallici*," which are assigned to the seventh century,—but evidently here, as in other places, showing signs of later manipulation, after the reconciliation with Rome,—it is laid down that "any Catholic letting his hair grow long after the fashion of the barbarians ('more barbarorum') is to be held excommunicate." How far this threat was effectual

will be seen from the "Injunctions" of Archbishop Peckham, who, in 1284, notes for correction the "*coma proluxior*" and "*strictior corona*" of the clergy of this diocese.

The canons above mentioned prove, moreover, that the British Church had its threefold orders,—bishops, priests, and deacons, besides abbots and monks,—living under rules of different degrees of strictness in discipline. They also show the relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical courts of the day. "If a cleric wishes to implead a layman, they are to abide by the decision of the bishop" (Canon 40); "If a layman bring an action against a cleric, they must take the sentence of the civil judge" (Canon 41). Their disciplinary provisions, however, make it clear that its members, clerical and lay, were far from reaching a high standard of Christian life; indeed, they seem to have retained something of their primitive habits and practices under their new conditions; and Gildas, while he bears testimony to the purity of their doctrines, inveighs severely against the laxity of some parts of their conduct. At the same time, it is not easy to accept his testimony as altogether unaffected by a later tampering; for in his view their ecclesiastical polity was doomed,—"*vestra exitiabilis structura*";—as it was to St. Peter and his successors that the Lord had said, "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; but to you, Depart from me, ye wicked doers, that, parted off with the goats on the left, ye may go into everlasting fire." ¹

¹ Gildæ Epistola, in "Ecclesiastical Documents," i. p. 106.

These quotations from Gildas, the earliest British writer on Church history, being translations from Latin, suggest a question of peculiar interest, and one often asked,—Was there in existence at this early time any version of the Holy Scriptures in Welsh? If the answer is to depend solely on written evidence, then it must be in the negative; for, whilst not only Gildas but Nennius and Beda, wrote in Latin, the fragments of Welsh poetry that date furthest back are silent on the whole subject; although, strangely enough, as a matter of literary comparison, the “Laws of Hywel Dda,” and the earlier ones of Dyfnwal Moelmuð incorporated into them, were written in the Welsh language. We accept, therefore, the conclusion arrived at by the late A. W. Haddan, after a careful comparison of the earliest Latin versions in use in the Scoto-Britannic Churches, “that there was a special British (and Irish) revision of the old Latin; that this revision began to be superseded in the time of Gildas, *c.* A.D. 560, in some of the books of the Old and New Testament by the Vulgate, and lingered on in a few instances as late as Nennius and Asser, *c.* A.D. 900; but that there is no trace anywhere of any Celtic version of the Bible, or of any part of it.”¹

Augustine, being struck with the similarity of the customs in the Churches of Britain and Gaul and their difference from those of Rome, asked Gregory why, “since the faith was one,” the customs should differ, and especially in the manner of celebrating divine service. The differences themselves were not

¹ “Councils and Eccles. Documents,” i. Appendix G.

specified ; but they may be assumed to form part of the common substratum that underlies the uses of York, Bangor, Sarum, and Hereford, and to account for the observance of the Festival of Trinity Sunday and the computation of the Sundays to Advent from it, and not as in all offices of the Roman type—from Whitsun Day.¹ The Communion Service was distinguished by a multiplicity of collects ; that for Ordination by the custom of anointing the hands of deacons and the hands and heads of bishops and priests. The bishops were consecrated by a single bishop ; and the churches were dedicated with special rites, and either followed the name of the place or took that of their living founder,—the first instance of a Scripture saint being not earlier than that of a Llanfihangel (St. Michael's) in A.D. 717. Such in the main were the characteristics of the British Church about the time of the isolation of Wales from Cumbria and Strathclyde on the north and from Damnonia (Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall) on the south. Henceforth we have to consider its fortunes in this more restricted area, and under the name of the Welsh Church, especially within the principality of Powys. The materials for the interval to the Norman period are, however, but scanty, and require to be used with discrimination. Putting down the era of the native Welsh saints as from A.D. 400–700, we have their “Lives” only in MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and they are tinged with the colours of this later date. They

¹ “Annotated Prayer-book,” i. 114.

represent some of the stages in the process of change and fusion which passed over the British system, civil and ecclesiastical. Unlike the earlier pilgrimages of Saints David and Teilo and Padarn to Jerusalem, the later ones are taken to Rome; where Cadwaladr the Blessed, the last king of British blood, is represented to have died, *circa* A.D. 681, and where later princes, like Cyngen in A.D. 854, follow the example. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, *circa* 705, Beda, A.D. 731, and the Canon of Theodore, re-enacted in A.D. 731, show us very plainly that there was all this time the bitterest opposition between the clergy on either side of the Severn; that they had neither intercommunion nor intercourse; neither greeting nor kiss of peace for one another.¹ The same feelings were probably shared in matters ecclesiastical and civil, for the Welsh princes began to be subject to the English kings. A Saxon was made bishop of St. David's in 871, and in the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries (South) Welsh bishops are said to have been consecrated by the archbishops of Canterbury.

In the year A.D. 926 Hywel Dda (the Good) took with him three bishops (those of St. David's, Llandaff, and Bangor), with other learned men, to Rome, "to consult the wise in what manner to improve the laws of Wales, and to ascertain the laws of other countries and cities, and the laws in force in Britain during the sovereignty of the emperors of Rome." Returning home, he convoked to the Ty Gwyn ar

¹ "Councils and Eccles. Doc.," i. 202.

Daf (Whitland, in Carmarthenshire), "all the heads of the tribes of the country and their assistants and all the wise and learned, ecclesiastical and lay," who drew up a code founded on that of Dyfnwal Moelmud. And after a second journey to Rome to see that those laws were in accordance with the law of God and the laws of countries and cities in the receipt of faith and baptism, he submitted them to the judgment of the commotes and the verdict of the country before they were finally ratified as the laws of the land. On this second journey Chebur of St. Asaph is named as one of the three attendant bishops; and it is the only case, with the exception of "Melanus Llanelvensis," consecrated by Bishop Bledwd, of St. David's, *circa* 1070, where a bishop of this see is distinctly mentioned from the time of Tyssilio, *circa* 600, till the consecration of Gilbert by the archbishop of Canterbury in A.D. 1143, from which time the succession is complete. This silence is remarkable when we are told that the ecclesiastics summoned by Hywel numbered "seven score croziers, archbishops and bishops, good teachers, schoolmasters, abbots, and priors"; and that there were in Dyfed, within the two counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke (a smaller area than the present diocese of St. David's), as many as seven episcopal houses, in four of which the abbots were required to be graduates and in holy orders. And I think we shall not be wrong in inferring that, dependent upon the mother see, there were several religious houses, governed by abbots, and having on their foundation a bishop, who acted as suffragan within the diocese.

The "laws" distinguish the Church lands into episcopal, abbatial, and hospital, and note as a special privilege that, unlike other cases, where a nine days notice is required, in these there is a right to immediate decision in their own courts; "for their land did not emanate from our law." But all possessors of Church land must come to every new king at his accession, and make a declaration of their privileges and their obligations. Among these, the "privileges of sanctuary" are minutely defined, and the extent of the "corphlan" (cemetery) within which the refugee was safe. A wrong done within the church was more heavily punished than one within the churchyard; and in the case of mother churches the fine was double that of others; one moiety in each case going to the abbot or parson, and the other moiety, in the former instance, to the ministering priest and scholars, in the latter to the ministering priest alone. The "offeiriad teulu," priest of the household or domestic chaplain, had his duties and privileges carefully defined. A third of the king's tithe and his land was to be free; and whenever a church with a burial-ground was consecrated in a villein township, with a priest to officiate therein, the villein was thereby rendered free. Practically, therefore, we may conclude that the extensive missionary districts served from the central establishments at Meifod, Oswestry, Llanrhaidr, Llangollen, Wrexham, Mold, Ruthin, Llanrwst, and elsewhere, passed through a process of re-arrangement somewhat as follows. As converts multiplied and the country became more generally

Christian, more ample and assured spiritual provision was required. In some cases the landholders conferred a tithe or other proportion of some product of their land on the mother institution ; two-thirds to the college and its members, the other third to secure among their number one to attend to their special cure. In others, they built a church and assigned a burial-ground in their midst, so as to have a resident parson and services of their own, and to be privileged to manage their own parochial affairs with freedom of voice and vote. Where this was effected entirely or mainly by one person and the district compact, it became a rectory fully equipped ; where by several persons, there we find comportioners, or “portionists,” representing these different parties, but still members of one collegium, or clergy-house. We find Giraldus Cambrensis complaining severely that “the churches have almost as many parsons, or parties, as there are principal men in the parish ; and that the sons, after the decease of their fathers, succeed to the ecclesiastical benefices, not by election, but by hereditary right, possessing and polluting the sanctuary of God ; and if a prelate perchance presumed to appoint or institute any other person, the people would certainly revenge the injury upon the institutor and the instituted.” A somewhat similar custom prevailed among the Irish clergy, established by St. Columba in Iona, as well as in the Church of Brittany, and something of much the same kind until quite recently in Russia. These “portionists” were indeed so numerous and their stipends so scanty that they were held to be injurious

rather than helpful to the work of the Church, and many efforts were made to unite them. The "*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*" of Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1291, has many illustrations of their partial survival; but they were finally combined, with the result that the vicar or ministering priest still received a third only of the whole, whilst the other two-thirds formed the parson or rector's share; and as such it was frequently appropriated to the use of monastic houses. Indeed, the abuse complained of, if it did not suggest, must have at least facilitated the appropriation. Some laws of later date mention, among the privileges of the clergy as accredited teachers, the right to an allowance-fee from every plough within their district, certain free land, and a licence by virtue of their science. Children from seven years of age to fourteen were placed under their direction, and at fourteen they were brought to the Lord and commended to him, and thenceforth had the Lord's privilege, and were themselves responsible. This has been hitherto understood of "coming of age," but it must, I think, really refer to "confirmation" and the spiritual rights which it conferred; as the chapter in which it occurs speaks of baptismal privileges, and refers clearly to ecclesiastical matters. Among the functions of the clergy, besides that of imparting instruction, were those of keeping "authentic records" as well of local and national events, privileges, and customs (the groundwork of the early "*Bruts*" or *Chronicles*), as also of tribal genealogies and family pedigrees, of legal marriages and honourable achievements. This last provision

was a public necessity as a "descent proved to the ninth degree" was a condition of the title and privileges of a "boneddig," or gentleman, and not only regulated the devolution of property, but also defined the limit to which in family feuds a claim for the "satisfaction of blood" might be pressed; a provision, indeed, which was calculated to weld more closely tribal ties and sympathies, but was also a rough and ready means of impressing on an excitable race the great principle that every tribesman was "his brother's keeper."

CHAPTER III.

THE NORMAN-WELSH PERIOD.

THIS diocese of Llanelwy, as St. Asaph was at first called, was originally conterminous with the principality of Powys, and extended, roughly speaking, from a line drawn from the mouth of the Conwy to the mouth of the Dovey, on the west, to a similar line from the Dee, near Chester, to the Severn, near Shrewsbury, on the east, having the sea as its northern and the hills of Maelenydd, between the Severn and the Wye, as its southern boundary. The inroads of the Mercians, however, early broke through this eastern line; and the construction of Watt's Dyke, which extends from near the mouth of the Dee to Maesbury Marsh, a little to the south of Oswestry, marked the first great encroachment. This was probably soon after the burning of Pengwern Powys (Shrewsbury), when the neighbouring "churches of Bassa were deprived of their privileges," and the Welsh were driven back into the hills. A yet narrower limitation followed the invasion by Offa and his victory on Rhuddlan Marsh in A.D. 798; and the great dyke that bears his name appears to have extended from Newmarket, which overlooks the scene of the battle, on the north, right over hill and dale, to the extreme south of the principality, near the mouth of the Wye at Chep-

stow. Although barbarous punishments were inflicted on those who were caught on the other side of this line, it proved to be an artificial rather than an actual boundary ; for during the tenth century we find the country beyond to its older limits in the possession of the great Welsh chieftains, such as Edwyn of Tegengl, lord of the county from the Clwyd to the Dee ; Tudor Trevor, lord of the Shropshire border ; and Elystan Glodrydd, lord of Ferlys between the Severn and the Wye. But a little later we see the Mercians again paramount. The " Domesday " comments, however, upon much of these lands, that they had been " waste in the time of King Edward," show that it had been, in great measure, a profitless as well as troublesome rule which the Saxon king had exercised. The record, however, introduces us to another system, which proved, of external causes, the most fatal to the independence of the Welsh as a nation, and ecclesiastically produced such results as largely affected the circumstances of the Welsh Church. The establishment of powerful nobles, with practically sovereign authority, all along the line of the Marches, at Chester, at Shrewsbury, at Hereford, and at Gloucester, backed by the power of the Conqueror, and bound together by the ties of self-preservation and aggrandisement, had for William the many advantages of rewarding his followers with valuable possessions, and supplying at the same time a firmer bulwark against the incursions of the Welsh than had ever been afforded by the Mercian earls. Thus, Shropshire was granted to Roger de Montgomery, who in turn planted his trusty lieutenants in strong fortresses along the border. Hugh

Lupus received "Cestrescire," which was extended to the banks of the Clwyd, whilst his cousin and vice-comes, "Robert of Rhuddlan, held of the king North Wales, besides the land which the king had given him in fee, but excluding the lands of the bishopric." But whether the "bishopric" referred to was that of "Bangor," the see of Gwynedd, or North Wales, as strictly understood; or "Llanelwy," within two miles of which Robert's castle stood, and some of whose richest lands were now included within Cestrescire; or "Lichfield" (Cestre), from which Robert, the earl's son, a monk, is accused of having taken two hides of land in Bedesfeld (in Maelor), is not certain. Indeed, the "Domesday" survey, being essentially a civil measure, intended to supply a register of lands and their tenures, is necessarily limited and incomplete in its ecclesiastical notices, and only touches upon them in so far as they fall under that category. Thus, for instance, under "Cestrescire," in the hundred of "Atiscros," extending from the River Clwyd to Saltney Marsh, eight such notices occur: in "Exestan Hundred" three, in "Mersete" one, in "Terra de Gâl" one, in "Chenlei et Dernion" none. Sometimes a church is mentioned in connexion with a single name, sometimes with a group; here a church and no presbyter; there presbyters but no church; elsewhere both the one and the other; in some land is merely noticed; in others it is defined to be "in dominio." These notices, being brief and interesting, and the first of their kind relating to the diocese, are here given in a tabulated form:—

<p> <i>Hundred of Atiscros</i> <i>Domesday name.</i> Haardine Widford { Dissard { Boteuauiril { Ruargor { Inglectrof { Brunfor { Alchene { Danfrond { Calston { Wesbrie { Presteton { Ruestock { Roelent { Cancarnacan { Wnescol { Quisnan { Meresberie </p>	<p> Modern. Hawarden Whitford Disserth Bodfari Englefield Brynford Halkin Kelston in Llanasa Gwespyr Prestatyn Meliden Rhuddlan Carnyechan Gwaunysgor Gwysaney Maesbury (<i>i.e.</i>, Oswestry) Yale Penllyn Edeirnion Gresford Horsley Eytton in Bangor </p>	<p> Ibi ecclesia ad quam pertinet Ecclesia Ibi in dominio ecclesia cum presbitero Ibi in dominio ecclesia cum presbitero Una ecclesia Ibi est ecclesia Ecclesia medietates (duce) Una ecclesia Ipsa (terra) ibi cum presbitero Ibi ecclesia ii. presbiteri No entry Ecclesia et presbiter ibi pertinet ad S. Cedde pertinet ad S. Werburgam. </p>
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The silence as to the cathedral is, under the circumstances, not surprising. Its position on the line of march from Chester to Conway and Snowdonia, and its exposure to so many dangers by sea and land, would, in any case, prevent it from becoming either great or wealthy, and would account for its being described as a "*civitas munita*." Indeed, the surrounding conditions may not unreasonably have caused it more than once to be what it was described some years later, "*pro vastitate et barbarie episcopo vacantem*," and its bishop to have greater claim even than those of Bangor, St. David's, and Glamorgan (Llandaff), to the character which Henry of Huntingdon, A.D. 1135, gives to them, as "*Nullarum urbium episcopi propter desolationes Walliæ*." As we cannot suppose that there was no bishop during the long period to which Wharton applies the term "*altum silentium*," and as Llanelwy in those times of devastation was ill adapted for a bishop's home, we may assume that, like their successors in the fifteenth century, when the palace and the cathedral lay in ruins, they resided elsewhere, in those more peaceful quarters of their diocese where the Norman power had not yet encroached. The very successes of the Normans probably induced the native clergy to withdraw to the secluded parts of the country; whilst their foreign speech, uncouth manners, and strong national sympathies rendered them all the more obnoxious to the new powers who, in their turn, did all they could to supplant them with clergy of their own, and to introduce into their midst religious orders whose sympathies were almost always foreign,

and who in all countries have been used as foils to the nationalism, so to speak, of the parochial and secular clergy. This new influence was brought to bear upon the South Welsh dioceses rather earlier than upon those of the North; but from the middle of the twelfth century, when Gilbert was consecrated to this see by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1143, and so was the first of our bishops to derive his orders from England, his successors, for a hundred years, appear to have been supporters of the Norman interests; and of their number, Godfrey, a nominee of Henry I., was "driven away by poverty and the hostility of the Welsh," and his successor, Adam, died at Osney Abbey. Of the grants of Bishops Reyner, Abraham, and Hugh, we shall have to speak again. Indeed, we may apply here even with greater force what a learned writer has said of the corresponding case in England, that "the greater prelates, being Normans, did trample upon the inferior clergy, who were generally English, increased the pensions which the clergy were to pay them, or else withdrew their stipends, and yet loaded them with new services, and every way oppressed them without mercy. And, to complete the servile dependence, an artifice was contrived to obtain indulgence from the pope, that whatever churches they held in advowson they should commit them to be served by clerks, who, as to the cure of souls, should be responsible to the bishop, but, as to the profits, should be accountable to the abbot or prior and his brethren."¹ Con-

¹ Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law," i. p. 64.

current with this was the great enrichment of the religious houses, which both excited the jealousy of the State, inasmuch as their property was exempted from civil exactions, and led, in some cases, to considerable luxury and laxity of discipline. This was much exaggerated, again, by the action of the preaching friars, who, professing great poverty and strictness, inveighed against the monks; but when they themselves, in turn, became enriched, they fell into the like excesses, and brought about this result, that at the dissolution, which they helped to hasten, they were both together swept away; and not only their temporal goods but their spiritualities also (*i.e.*, the rectories that had been appropriated to them) were alienated and lost to the Church.

Directly after the Conquest, Roger de Montgomery introduced the Benedictines into Shrewsbury, and endowed them with the advowsons of many churches and other privileges. Before 1086 his lieutenant—Warin—added the church of St. Oswald (Oswestry) with its tithes; and in 1190, William FitzAlan II. quitclaimed to it the church with certain demesne tithes. From the charters of Bishop Clinton (1129–1149) and of Bishop Durdent (1149–1161), confirming the same, with its chapelries (*i.e.*, St. Martin's, Llansilin, and Llanyblodwel), it is evident that Oswestry was at that time regarded as in Cestre (Lichfield) diocese. In A.D. 1093, Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, expelled the secular canons from the Saxon foundation of St. Werburgh; introduced the same order (Benedictines), and transferred to them the old possessions, with the tithes of Haurdina (Hawarden),

Colesul (in Flint), and Bissopestred (in Mold); to which were further added, the same year, the church of Holiwell and its mill by Adaliza, his daughter-in-law, the church and manor of Batavari (Bodfari) by William de Punterleya, the church of Dessart by William Meschinus, and the tithes of Yradoc (Hirad-dug, *i.e.*, Tremcirschion) by William Malburch. In 1110, the "Augustinians" were established at Haughmond, near Shrewsbury, by William FitzAlan I., and soon received, *inter alia*, a moiety of Hanmer. About A.D. 1170, the "Knights Hospitallers" were settled by another FitzAlan at Halston, and they had affiliations at Ysptyty Ivan, at Llanwddyn, and at Tregynon, together with the church of Kinnerley. A little later, the "Cistercians" were brought in, and soon became the most favoured and numerous of the monastic bodies. To their nunnery at Llanllugan, founded, or, more likely, -refounded, 1170-1188, the church of Llanfair Caereinion was granted by Bishop Hugh in 1239; and Llanllwchaiarn was added in A.D. 1263 by Bishop Anian I. Their abbey at Aberconway, *c.* 1198, was enriched with the appropriation of Eglwys Rhos, and in 1282 with Eglwys-fach, also, in exchange for Rhuddlan; the abbey of "Basingwerk," with Holywell; "Strata Marcella" with the churches of Berriew and Bettws; and "Valle Crucis" with those of Llandysilio, Llangollen, Wrexham, Rhuabon, Chirk, and Llan-santffraid. Thus, before the middle of the thirteenth century most of the parishes along the borders, or marches, which had fallen under the civil jurisdiction of the Norman lords were, mainly through their influence, attached to monastic houses, and their

great tithes appropriated to their support and enrichment. During this period, and as further illustrating the circumstances that marked this re-settlement, there arose many controversies as to the extent of the diocese, its privileges and its administration.

When we bear in mind that the first bishop consecrated to this see by the archbishop of Canterbury was Gilbert and the date A.D. 1143, it is significant to read that so early as 1125 there had been a proposal on the part of the king of England to transfer the diocese, together with those of Bangor and Chester, from the province of Canterbury, which had now begun to claim jurisdiction over the whole of Wales, to that of York, in order to compose the strife as to precedence which had arisen between the two archbishops.¹ It was not, however, carried out ; so far, at least, as this diocese and Bangor were concerned, for the sufficient reason that neither the authority of Henry nor the jurisdiction of Canterbury was as yet acknowledged in North Wales. Fifty years later (A.D. 1175) Adam, bishop of this diocese, at the invitation of two local chieftains and on the claim that "all the churches between the Wye and the Severn belonged by diocesan right (*jure parochiali*) to the see of Llanelwy," proceeded to consecrate, or, rather, reopen, the church of St. Michael² at Kerry, which had been rebuilt. In this, however, he was strenuously and successfully opposed by Giraldus,

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, "Eccles. Doc.," i. 316.

² This is possibly the church that is recorded to have been consecrated in A.D. 717, and to be the first dedicated to other than a living founder.

surnamed Cambrensis, archdeacon of Brecon, who acted as representative of the then vacant see of St. David's, and claimed for it the jurisdiction it had exercised for three hundred years. This period carries us back to the death of Gwgan, king of Ceredigion, and the absorption of his kingdom in that of Rhodri Mawr (who then became king of all Wales), and so supplies a clue to the real question at issue,—whether the earlier rule of Powys should now reassert its claim, or whether the power which had prevailed since the breaking up of Ceredigion should still maintain possession. Following soon after this, we find, as already noticed, that (A.D. 1129–1161) Oswestry, with its surrounding district, was treated as part of Lichfield diocese, a circumstance which could have been due only to the influence and action of the Lord Marchers. A century later, and doubtless owing to a similar cause, there occurred a dispute between the bishops of this diocese and of Hereford relative to their line of boundary. On the eastern bank of the Severn lay a district called “Gorddwr,” which had been originally under the jurisdiction of Meifod, and still acknowledged the ecclesiastical connexion by the payment of certain dues and charges, though territorially lying within the lordship of Caus, and as such subjected to the diocesan rule of Hereford. This territory Bishop Anian, who is described as “longe fortissimus privilegiorum sedis suæ vindex et assertor,”¹ claimed for his see on the plea of ancient jurisdiction as part of Powys. But

¹ “*Annales Cambriæ.*”

both Cantilupe and Swynfield, successive Bishops of Hereford, withstood the claim on the strong ground of possession, and not unlikely, though not stated, on that of inheritance also, as a portion of the territory of Elystan Glodrydd, Prince of Ferlys and Earl of Hereford. A jury of Welshmen and Englishmen combined decided in favour of Hereford; and defined the boundary to be "the midstream of the Severn from the ford called Rhydwymma, where the river divided the lands of Sir Reginald de Montgomery from those of Peter Corbet, to the ford of Shrawardine. Immediately afterwards the Bishop entered on horseback the said ford of Rhydwymma to the middle of the river, and thus took possession of all places and vills within the bank assigned to him, with all the episcopal offices pertaining thereto; and the clergy of the different parishes thereupon tendered their obedience."¹

On a similar claim of pre-Norman custom, Bishop Anian contested with the widow of John Fitz-Alan the right to the advowson of Llanymynech; and, being defeated in the Curia Regis, appealed to the Pope and refused to institute her presentee. This refusal, however, was summarily disposed of by Edward I., who, in a writ to the Sheriff of Shropshire A.D. 1281-2, ordered him to distrain upon the Bishop's goods.

Perhaps Anian felt encouraged in this and his other controversies by the success which had marked his complaints against Llewelyn ap Gruffydd,

¹ Swinfield's "Household Roll."

Prince of Wales, whom he accused of encroaching on the privileges of the see. His main charges were that the Prince, *inter alia*, had "denied the Bishop the right to make a will ; that injury had been done to the episcopal manors during the vacancy of the see by his officers in charge ; that he had refused to allow the canons to elect into the vacancy without his licence ; that his bailiffs had held courts in the churchyard and even in the church, and had refused to the Bishop and Chapter their proper share of the fines ; that vassals of the Church, on transferring their allegiance to the English, had been deprived of their property and no respect paid to the plea that it was a feoff of the Church ; that he had demanded certain 'procurations' from religious houses, and had denied to the parochial clergy a share in the commons, woods, and pastures ; and that in the case of the sanctuary at Llanrwst (Ysphyty Ivan) he had defrauded the Church of property." It was conceded, indeed, that the Prince had abated somewhat of these practices ; but, as he claimed to do it "of grace and not of right," the Bishop carried the case before the Archbishop, and from him to the Pope. Thereupon all the Cistercian abbots of Wales, with the sole exception of the Abbot of Basingwerk, who took an active part against Llewelyn, joined in a circular letter to the Pope, in which they not only denied the truth of the charges put forward by Anian, but positively asserted that the Prince had "always proved a steady friend and patron, not only of their own, but of every religious order, and a steadfast guardian of the Church in Wales." Perhaps the

Cistercians were not sorry for the opportunity of thus publicly contradicting the statements of the haughty and uncompromising Dominicans, with whom they had themselves been engaged in another bitter dispute. In the death-struggle for his country, in which he was now engaged with the English king, and under the shameful abuse of the powers of excommunication, ever available for promoting the English interests, Llewelyn gave way and conceded the points at issue, being no longer able to withstand "the warnings and mandates of the Apostolic See."

The controversy, above alluded to, with the Cistercians had special reference to the Abbey of Valle Crucis, and illustrates the growth of foreign ecclesiastical influence, just as some of the other disputes we have mentioned show the growth of a foreign or at least external political power. The Abbot claimed that, having become possessed of the church of Llangollen with its chapelries of Wrexham, Rhuabon, Chirk, Llansantffraid, and Llandegla, one vicar in the mother church sufficed for the whole; whilst the Bishop insisted upon appointing a vicar in each of the capellæ also. This, in spiritual matters, was the counterpart of the claim made in Henry I.'s time by the Prior of St. Milburg's, Wenlock, with respect to temporalities; viz., that his widespreading lands constituted but one parish, and so were parochially subject to none but the mother church; and the result in both cases was the same, for after much disputing and many appeals the monastic claims were confirmed.

Much light is thrown upon the organisation of the diocese, its rural deaneries and parishes, about this period, by a MS. in the British Museum, which has only been brought to light within this year.¹ It is entitled "Estimacio Ecclesiarum," and embraces the dioceses of St. Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff. From internal evidence it belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century, and it appears to be the taxation made in A.D. 1254, when Pope Innocent IV. had given in the previous year the first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices to King Henry III. for three years. "It is sometimes called Pope Innocent's 'Valor,' sometimes the 'Vetus Valor,' and sometimes the 'Norwich Taxation,' from the circumstance of its having been principally executed by Walter de Suthfield, Bishop of Norwich." From it we learn that this diocese comprised at the time eight rural deaneries, seventy-nine rectories (ecclesie), and at least nineteen capellæ (or vicarages). The return was made for each deanery by the Decanus Loci (rural dean) or the official as in Powys and Rhos, with two or more other clergy, under oath. In some cases the value is given in £. s. d. ; in most cases in marcs. The sum of the whole diocese, excepting the religious houses, amounted to £208. 9s. 8d. Tenth, £20. 16s. 11¼d. The sum total of the tithe of the diocese to £30. 16s. 11d. Deduct from them for tithes of rectories (ecclesie) appropriated to religious houses £1. 16s. od., and the remainder avail-

¹ Cotton Collection : Vitellius, c. x. *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 1887, pp. 331 et seqq.

able amounted to £29. os. i¹d. Being the first known record of the kind for this diocese, its list of deaneries and parishes is given more fully :—

1. *Decanatus de Ros et Reweniauk* (Rhos and Rhyfoniog) includes Ecclesia de S^{to} Assaph cum suis Capellis et Porcio Episcopi Assavensis in eadem; Abergele cum duabus capellis; Dinerth,¹ Llanuber;² Egliswach; Llanvrewist; Llanissannan; Lleswaen; Kegidauc;³ Diss'ch;⁴ Llanddulas; Eglwys Ros; Llanuvartell;⁵ Gwythrem et Nanclym; Bechwylemin.⁶ Summa, lxxi. li.

2. *Dec. de Powys*, Ecclesia de Eberriw una medietas . . . alia medietas que est Cist. Ordin. (non)taxatur; Llandishul, Capella de Lamerewic; Ecc de Llanlocharen, Capella de Llanveyr⁷ Cap^a. de Bettws; Medietas eccl. de Trefkenon, alia med. spectat ad Hospic;⁸ Cap^a. de Aberhaf; Capella de Llanoedelan; Eccla de Manaon, Cap. de Castett; Eccla de Llanveyr,⁹ Porcio Monialium, Cisterc. Ordinis¹⁰ non taxatur; Cap^a. de Llanckenwy; Cap^a. de Llanurveyl; Cap. de Llankaduan; Cap. de Garthbeybeau; Eccla de Meyvot; Capella de Llanvelig; Cap. de Llanvectheyn; Cap. de Llansanfret; Cap. de Llanuthaghil; Eccla de Llantrinew; Cap^a. de Llantessilyau; Cap. de Kegidua¹¹; Cap. de Trallug.¹² Summa, xxvi^{li}. iii^{is}. viii^d., Dec^a lii^s. v^d. ob.

¹ Llandrillo in Rhos.

² Llanfair Talhaiarn.

³ St. George.

⁴ Llansantffraid Glan Conway.

⁵ Whitchurch, Denbigh.

⁶ Llanelian

⁷ Llanvair in Cedeweyn, *i.e.* Newtown.

⁸ The Knights Hospitallers at Halston.

⁹ Llanvair in Caereinion.

¹⁰ Llanllugan.

¹¹ Guilsfield.

¹² Welsh Pool.

3. *Dec. de Henglefeut*¹, Ecclesie de Llanceurgetyn²; Helegem; Fuytford; Llanassa; Guenesgor; Dissertth; Rhudlan; Cum: Bottewarru; Eseeuvauc; Nannerche; Eccl. de Halliwell que est Cist'.

Summa, xxxvi^{li}. x^{sol} Dec. lxxxiii^{sol}.

4. *Dec. de Marchia*: Eccl. de Llanracader; Pennant; Hyrnan; Llankenauc; Llansilyn; Capella de Llangarmayaun³; Eccl. de Blodval; Mulatan⁴; Scⁱ Martini, Croesoswald⁵, Trefwen⁶ Eccl. de Kinardinlhe que est Hospitalar⁷: Summa xx^{li} vi^{sol} viii^{den} Dec. xl^{sol} viii^d.

5. *Dec. de Kzeviliau and Maudoe*: Ecclesie de Maudoe⁸; Dareweyn; Brenmeyr⁹ and Kemeys; Llanwrit; Penegoes; Machenllyd; Llanemaudoec⁸; Malluet.

Summa ix^{li}. vi^s. viii^d. Dec. xviii^s. viii^d.

6. *Dec. de Maclawer*: Eccl. Scⁱ Colyen¹⁰; Gresford; Estun¹¹; Marchoeil; Embestock; Llancallen que Monast. Cist.¹² Gwrexam que est Mon. Eborundem.

Summa xviii^{li}. vi^s. viii^d. Dec. xxxvi^s. viii^d.

7. *Dec. de Monte Alto*. Eccl. de Mohald; Kilkeyn; Llanuertey. de Sc^o Germano; de Sc^o Tessillao.

Summa xii^{li}. vi^s. viii^d. Dec. xxvi^s. viii^d.

¹ Englefield.

² Northop.

³ Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog.

⁴ Selattyn.

⁵ Oswestry.

⁶ Whittington.

⁷ The Knights Hospitallers at Halston.

⁸ Same parish given under two names, *i.e.*, Llanymawddwy.

⁹ Llanbryn-mair.

¹⁰ Rhuabon.

¹¹ Hope.

¹² Valle Crucis.

2. *Dec. de Ederniaun.* Ecclesie de Lantreulle; Gwidelwern; Coruaen; Langar; Betos; Lanuihagel; Langum; Lansanfreyt; Kericdrudion; Llandervael; Llanvaur. Summa xiii^{li}. viii^s. iv^d. Dec. xxvi^s. x^d.

Summa tocius Ep'atus p't' do' relig': ccviii^{li}. ix' viii^d. Dec^a xx^{li}. xvi^s xi^d. ob.

Summa total decime dioc. assav. xxx^{li} xvi^s xi^d. Sbt^actis m̃ xxxvi^s p dec. Ecc^a relig. reñ, xxix^{li} : xi^d.

Two noteworthy stages in the growing power of Canterbury are marked by the respective Visitations of Archbishop Baldwin and of Archbishop Peckham, and they show the great advance made in the claims of jurisdiction in the course of a hundred years. In A.D. 1187 Baldwin, under the plea of preaching the Crusades and enlisting the Welsh in the cause, visited as legate each of the Welsh cathedrals, and, a thing before unheard of, celebrated mass therein, "tanquam investituræ cujusdam signum," by way, as it were, of induction into spiritual jurisdiction over them. In 1284 Archbishop Peckham made a Metropolitan Visitation of the Welsh dioceses, commencing at Oswestry, and shortly afterwards issued his Injunctions in which, as "Totius Angliæ Primas," he compares his Visitation to that of Jerusalem by Our Lord, and gives warning of a similar punishment for disobedience. He then descends into details, which throw much light on the condition and character of the clergy. He particularises many peculiarities which he required them to lay aside, so as to conform to the rest of the clergy of his Province. Such were want of sobriety, letting the hair grow long, an insufficient tonsure, impetuosity of speech, and ignorance of

Latin (*litera scripta*), the peculiar shape of their vestments and dress ; and the leaving their head, and feet, and calves bare. The sin of incontinence,—for such the non-acceptance of the rule of clerical celibacy seemed to the followers of St. Dunstan,—is sharply reprehended ; and they are exhorted to be more observant of the canonical hours, and unfailing in the Daily Prayer ; and to obey the recent Lambeth statute as to the reservation of the Host and its ceremonious conveyance to the sick. The education of the young in grammar, and the instruction of the laity in faith and morals,—which had fallen more or less into abeyance, owing to the number and smallness of the “portions,” by reason of which neither were the portionists able to reside, nor the vicars to support the parochial calls,—are to be provided for by the union of these portions, and the requirement that, where the rectors do not reside, there shall be a sufficient maintenance for the vicars, so that they may reverently and worthily discharge the several offices of their ministry. And inasmuch as the cathedral should be an exemplar to the diocese, the houses of the dean and canons must be as near to it as possible ; the canons must wear their hood and amice in the cloisters, and must attend in a proper manner to the daily services and observe the canonical hours. They must, moreover, make it their chief endeavour to bring their people into union with the realm and people of England, otherwise not only will the king and nobles of England, but those of the rest of the world,—and, failing them, the Holy Roman Church itself,—enforce

it by preaching a crusade against them ; and against this vain will be the power of the Welsh. Finally, after reproving their addiction to dreams and their old-world legends of Brutus and Troy, he urges them, under fear of ecclesiastical censure, to give a welcome to the Friars Preachers and the Friars Minors, "with whom almost alone sound doctrine was to be found in these parts." These Injunctions were dated from Bangor, iv. Kal. Julii (June 28), A.D. 1284. Similar ones were issued for that diocese, and others for St. David's and Llandaff. Following so closely on the civil conquest and the annexation of Wales to the English Crown, as set forth in the Statutes of Rhuddlan, A.D. 1282, these proceedings of Archbishop Peckham must be regarded as their ecclesiastical counterpart, and as completing the jurisdiction of Canterbury over the Welsh Church.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ANNEXATION TO THE REFORMATION.

THE "Taxatio Ecclesiastica" of A.D. 1291, which was occasioned by a grant of the tenths, made in 1288 by Pope Nicholas IV. to King Edward I., for the purpose of defraying the expenses of an expedition to the Holy Land, supplies useful information as to some changes of administration which had taken place since the earlier return of 1254, and is, at the same time, of great importance as forming the standard by which all the taxes, whether to the King or to the Pope, continued to be regulated until the 26 Henry VIII. Compared with the "Norwich Taxation" it shows (1) an increase in the number of deaneries from eight to sixteen: thus, while

1. Ros and Rewen' remain the same as *Ros* and *Revenauc*.
2. Powys is subdivided into *Pola*, *Kedwelyn*, *Kereynon*, and *Mecheyn*.
3. Henglefenfent corresponds to *Englefeld*.
4. Marchia' appears as *Marchia*, *Mochmant*, and *Kenlleyth*.
5. Keyveliauc and Maudoe remain as before.
6. Maelaur reappears as *Maelaur* and *Nandheudwee*.

7. Monte Alto has become *Yall* and *Stratalwen*.
8. Edeyrniaun is divided into *Edeyrniaun*, *Dynmael*, and *Penllyn*.

(2) In the earlier "Taxation,"—in every deanery, except Powys, each entry is made as simply "*Ecclesia de . . .*," with the sole exception of "*Capella de Llangarmayan*" in Marchia; in Powys the list includes eight *ecclesiæ* and seventeen *capellæ* with one portion, that belonging to the nuns of Llanllugan in Llanfair Caereinion; though we cannot suppose that there was so marked a difference in the nature of the *ecclesiæ* and *capellæ*. In this latter "Taxation" "*Ecclesia de . . .*" occurs in every instance—divided in most cases into *rectoria* and *vicaria*—with in the collegiate churches, such as Llandrinio, Meifod, Llanrhaiadr, Llansilin, Eston (Hope), Corvaen, Llansannan, and Skeyvyauc, an enumeration of the "*Portiones*."

(3) This enumeration in A.D. 1291, and the almost total omission in A.D. 1254, when we know they existed to a large extent, will probably explain the great increase in the value of the livings given in the earlier returns as £208. 9s. 8d.—dec. £20. 16s. 11¼d.; and in that of 1291, only forty years later, as £1,332. 18s. 9d.—dec. £133. 5s. 10½d.

On the earlier occasion the portions were so many and so small that they were under the taxable limit, and therefore not mentioned; now, owing to their union, in accordance with Archbishop Peckham's Injunctions, they came under the taxation, and so were taken into account.

(4) Several parishes are mentioned by name in the

later "Taxation" which were either omitted altogether, or only referred to indefinitely as *Capellæ*. Such are under :—

Rhos et Rhyfoniog—St. Asaph, Henllan, Tremeirchion, Llangernyw, and Llanefydd.

Englefield—Caerwys and Rhywlyfnwyd.

Mochnant—Llangedwyn, Llanarmon, Bettws (Llanwddyn), and Llan-Gadwaladr.

Nanheudwy—Chirk (Y Waun), Llansantffraid.

Yall—Bryneglwys.

Edeirnion—Llanaelhaiarn, Llanycil, Llanuwchllyn, and Llangower.

(5) The churches appropriated to the Knights Hospitallers, viz., Kinnerley, Trefgynon, and Dolygynwal (*Ysptyty Ivan*), are described as "non decimantur"; the other appropriations are evidently included in the rectoria of their respective parishes, although not definitely so stated. The "Taxation" of the cathedral body is given separately, not as in 1254, under the deanery of Rhos and Rhyfoniog. The temporalities also of the bishop and canons, and of all the religious houses, are added under their respective heads. The houses so named are Basingwerk, Conway (*i.e.*, Aberconway, *or* Maenan), Strata Marcella, Valle Crucis, Llanllugan (nunnery), Strata Florida in St. David's diocese, and Haghmon in Cestre (Lichfield).

It appears, however, to have been easier to ascertain the amount of the income and the tenths than to secure their payment. At all events, we find Bishop Llewelyn writing, in 1305, to the king and stating his inability to collect the levy, because the

clergy denied both their liability and their ability to pay. Whereupon the king enjoins the bishop to distrain upon the goods and benefices of the defaulters. The goods were accordingly sequestered and offered for sale, but owing to the season of the year, the badness of the roads, the difficulty of transit, the sympathy of the people, and the fear of ecclesiastical censures, there were no bidders. Some of the clergy who resisted the claim appealed to the Court of Rome, but with what result does not appear. The kings, however, of those days had a summary way of dealing with their recalcitrant subjects through the sheriff; and it is more than probable that such was the case here, and that he made the bishop responsible for the clergy: "*Tanquam mandatorum nostrorum contemptorem manifestum.*"

One of the first things that had been taken in hand after the Annexation was the repair of the damages wrought to the cathedral and the churches of the diocese. Whether from accident or from a mistaken policy, the churches had suffered severely in the course of the recent struggles. In a letter addressed to the commander of the English forces, Archbishop Kilwardby charges them with "desecrating churches and churchyards, damaging church property, burning one of the bishop's houses, slaying some of his servants, and committing other acts of sacrilege,"—some of the very grievances alleged by Prince Llewelyn as the provocation which had driven him to arms for his country. "The English hitherto," he says, "have spared neither age nor sex, and have respected neither churches nor holy places." The

cathedral itself had been burned ; and this was made the occasion of a strong appeal to the Pope (Martin IV.) on the part of the King, the Bishop, and the Canons, to have it transferred to the neighbouring town of Rhuddlan, under the shelter of the rebuilt castle ; but, owing perhaps to the jealousy of the Archbishop, the scheme came to nothing. A commission, however, was appointed to assess the damages, and by its award £100 was paid over to the Dean and the Archdeacon on All Souls' Day, 1284. This sum, equivalent to rather more than three thousand pounds of our money, was supplemented by another fund, which the canons collected by going about the country and exhibiting a famous copy of the Gospels that belonged to their cathedral. The four Welsh dioceses, and those of Hereford, Lichfield, and Coventry, were thus visited by them under authority ; and, to judge from the years 1290-93, their annual collection was about £30, giving for the whole nine years a sum total equal to about £9,000 of our present standard. With these resources, and such other funds as accrued from appropriations, fines, legacies, and fabric lands, the work of rebuilding was taken in hand, and appears to have been completed by the end of 1295. The free tenants of the dean and chapter were bound to render annually certain services ("pro operationibus ecclesiæ cathedralis") in work at the Red Rock, and this service was described as "Ardreth y Gareg Goch." This "rock" lay about a mile away, between the cathedral and Llannerch, and the red sandstones in the west and south walls of the nave still attest

this obligation. Whether any alteration was effected in the plan of the cathedral we have no means of judging; but its recent restoration by Sir Geo. Gilbert Scott enables us to realise accurately its appearance when it stood forth in that early handiwork of 1284-95. Massive in construction, but simple in plan, and with little ornamentation, it comprised chancel, choir, and nave, with north and south aisles, and north and south transepts, with a central tower at their intersection. The south transept formed the Lady-chapel, and a door led into the chapter-house through the north wall of the chancel or presbytery. Of the site of the houses of the dean and canons we have no indications left, nor can we say, from any sufficient evidence, where exactly they stood, save "*prope et circa ecclesiam.*"

The reconstruction of the fabric was immediately followed by the reorganisation of the services, in accordance with the injunctions of the archbishop (Peckham). The statutes of 1295 required the canons to provide one vicar for every two—"propter guerrarum discrimina,"—and four priests were to live in the same house. But the following year, in a chapter holden on March 6, 1296, it was ordained more definitely that the dean and the prebendaries of Vaenol and Llannefydd (the precentor and the chancellor) should each find a priest skilled in music to serve their cures and attend the daily services with the vicar-choral; that the archdeacon should find a priest or a layman skilled in vocal or instrumental music; the prebendaries of Meliden (treasurer) and Llanfair (2) should find four singing boys or choristers,

and the prebendary of Meifod (sacristan) should contribute ten shillings per annum in augmentation of the salary of the waterbearer to secure his attendance with the other ministers in the daily services. All the minor clergy (beneficed in Gwyddelwern) were required to be present at the daily services at all the canonical hours under penalty of a penny fine for each absence. In the same year, Bishop Llewelyn ap Ynyr appropriated the rectorial tithes of Llansilin and Rhuddlan to the general fund of the cathedral, and those of Llanasa to the fabric and the lighting. In 1336 the great tithes of Nantglyn were added for the support of the ten vicars and for incidental expenses, on the condition that two masses should be said daily in the new Lady-chapel (the south transept), one in honour of the Blessed Virgin, the other for the souls of the benefactors of the see, whether living or dead. And a similar condition was attached to the appropriation of Blodwel in 1377 to the bishop's uses. Three years later, Bishop Spridlington further augmented the stipends of the vicars by appropriating the great tithes of Llanrhaiadr in Mochnant jointly for their benefit and for the other cathedral expenses. And two days afterwards he obtained the royal licence to annex the chapelries of Pole and Kegidfa (Welsh-pool and Guilsfield) to the mother church of Meifod, and appropriate the whole to himself. By these additions to the income which had belonged to the see and chapter at the time of the "Taxatio" of 1291, we may conclude that sufficient provision was made for the orderly and reverent ministrations of the cathedral, as the pattern for the diocese, and that at

his period it reached its highest state of efficiency. But how far there was a corresponding improvement in the case of the secular and parochial clergy and their ministrations we are unable to say. The "portions" had, indeed, been united; but they had also been, to a large extent, alienated by being appropriated to monastic houses; and the controversy already noticed between Bishop Anian and the Abbot of Valle Crucis showed that the spiritual interests of the parishes, whence they drew their income, was not always a first concern of their appropriators, though in certain instances they did make fair provision by way of outlying cells and capellæ.

Many questions of jurisdiction arose in consequence of the altered aspect of the civil power, and the new relation of the ecclesiastical body; and whilst some were settled in a summary fashion, others were submitted to the arbitration of juries versed in the customs and precedents of the time, who decided in accord with "old and immemorial usage."

The first of these had reference to the custody of the temporalities on the death of Bishop Anian, in A.D. 1293. In the lordship of Bromfield were certain "lands and tenements" the custody of which was claimed by Earl Warren, "just as it had been enjoyed by his predecessors in the lordship before the conquest of the country." But the plea was overruled by the king in council, on the ground "that all lands, everywhere situate, belonging to vacant sees belonged to the Crown; and that he had, by his recent conquest, re-acquired the lands of Bromfield"; and on

the same ground, Robert de Staundon, justiciary of North Wales, was commanded to take possession at once of the temporalities within the lordship of Denbigh and elsewhere.

Another dispute was but a repetition of an older one between Bishop Anian and Llewelyn, Prince of Wales. In the present case, one Madoc ap Philip having died intestate in the cantred of Englefield possessed of goods worth £4, the bishop (Llewelyn) took possession of them; but the king disputed his right and claimed them for himself. The jury, however, found for the bishop, and the title of the see to all such goods was confirmed.

In A.D. 1310 the advowson of Northop was claimed by Edward II. on the plea that it had belonged at one time to David, Prince of Wales, and he presented to it one of his chaplains; the bishop, however, refused to institute, on the ground that it had always belonged to the see; and the question being tried before Robert de Holland, justiciary of Chester, the verdict was given here also in favour of the bishop.

The bishop and chapter were equally successful, the following year, in resisting a contribution imposed, without their consent, by the Earl of Doncaster on their tenants in the lordship of Denbigh. For it had been one of the immemorial privileges of their Church that no such contribution should be demanded without their previous assent and concurrence.

An entirely new feature occurs about this time in the form of "Papal Provision." In 1306, Clement V. appointed John Toppan, Doctor of Laws, to a canonry

in the cathedral and to the rectory of Llanwyllin.¹ And in A.D. 1344, Clement VI. nominated John Trevor, then at Rome, to the next vacant canonry or sinecure, and subsequently to the bishopric itself as soon as it should become vacant ; to which he was then consecrated "in Curia Romana," but he was not allowed to take possession until after he had made his profession of obedience at Canterbury. This practice, viz., the papal designation of an ecclesiastic to a stall, a sinecure, or a see not yet vacant, is said to have arisen out of the custom of referring disputed elections to Rome for settlement, and to have been adopted there for the twofold purpose of promoting a favourite candidate and of preventing the Crown from keeping sees long vacant for the sake of their temporalities. Of one of its fruits or abuses Hallam writes, that the richly-endowed Church of this country came to be regarded as "the free pasture of Italian priests, who were placed by the mandatory letters of Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. in all the best benefices."²

On the death of Bishop Trevor, in 1357, a dispute arose between Edward the Black Prince, as guardian of the temporalities, and the Archbishop as custodian of the spiritualities, concerning certain rights and privileges which had been immemorially enjoyed by the archbishop of the province on the death of his suffragans. These were a moiety of the "sacerdotia," or benefices, held by him, a third of the small tithes of all vacant benefices, and a tenth of the valor of all

¹ Probably Llanuwchllyn, near Bala.

² Hallam, "Middle Ages," ii. 209.

the others,—“*decima bonorum dotalium*” (*i.e.*, a tenth on dower chattels), and the mortuaries of the deceased bishop, which in this diocese comprised his best horse, saddle, and bridle, his hooded cloak, and his best seal and signet ring. The dispute resulted in confirming them to the Archbishop, as “*longa consuetudine acquisita*.” A more important question arose on the promotion of Llewelyn ap Madoc from the deanery to the bishopric as to the presentation to the vacant deanery. Unlike the English deaneries, to which the Crown presents, the Welsh ones are in the patronage of their respective bishops; and the point now disputed was whether Bishop Llewelyn, who had been provided to the see and consecrated by the Pope at Avignon, and had also received the spiritualities from the Archbishop, but not yet the temporalities, had the right of presentation to the deanery, or whether it belonged to the Prince of Wales as their custodian until restored. The commissioners appointed by the Archbishop were unable to decide the matter; and the Prince assumed the right and nominated Robert de Walsham. But the nomination was not acted upon; and the difficulty was solved by a compromise. The Bishop appointed to the vacancy another friend of the Prince, William de Spridlington, who, in time, succeeded to the bishopric also, and was named by the Black Prince one of the executors to his will.

What the religious state of the great mass of the people was at this period it is not easy to say. It can hardly, however, have been other than very unsatisfactory, and yet it was by no means so low

as is too often assumed to have been the case in those "Dark Ages." The services, although in Latin, and therefore "not understood of the people," must nevertheless have been so explained to them as to educate the heart, though it may have left the intellect but little touched; many Scripture stories and religious legends were current in the vulgar tongue; and no small proportion of the bardic poems were on sacred themes. An "Officium B. Mariæ Virginis," translated into Welsh by Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug, a vicar of Tremeirchion, in the middle of the fourteenth century, has excellent renderings of some of the Psalms and other portions of the Holy Scriptures, but we have not found any Welsh Wycliffe of this period to turn the whole of the Bible into the vernacular.

When we speak of the bards and their poetry, we must bear in mind that we speak, as it were, of the press of that day. For the bards after the conquest of the country lost their most exciting theme, and tuned their harps to less stirring echoes than those of war. And just as in their circuits they recited not only their own compositions, but also those of their more eminent predecessors, so their own songs became in turn handed on by many others, and formed a portion of the common inheritance. When, therefore, we find so largely in poems, thus re-echoed at hundreds of firesides, sacred subjects treated reverently, we are justified in concluding that the spiritual condition of the people was not altogether so benighted.

Politically, their case was much more oppressive

and hopeless. Conquered by Edward I., oppressed by the severe and unscrupulous rule of the Lords Marchers, and appealing in vain to the king's justiciaries for redress, the Welsh writhed in silence under their wrongs. But no sooner had Owen of Glyndyfrdwy, or, as more usually written, Owen Glyndwr, raised his banner for Wales and freedom than multitudes of followers poured in from all parts, rejoicing in the hope of avenging the wrongs on which they had been brooding; and the bards, once more burning with the old martial spirit, aroused in them the hopes of former days.

During the ten years, 1399-1409, through which Owen was able to maintain a brave but futile independence, the Church in this diocese suffered sorely both from the one side and the other. Enraged against Bishop Trevor for having pronounced the sentence of deposition upon his liege and patron, Richard II., Owen in 1400 burned the cathedral and canons' houses, together with those of the bishop at St. Asaph, Meliden, and St. Martin's; and in that ruined state the cathedral remained for eighty, and the palace for a hundred, years.

If the treatment of the Welsh had been oppressive before, it was made doubly cruel and humiliating now by the enactments of Parliament in 1401; and when Bishop Trevor found that neither justice nor consideration was any longer to be had for his countrymen, he joined Glyndwr; and when the latter could no longer maintain his ground openly, the bishop was driven into exile in France.

These troubles, however, which exasperated the

Welshmen against the English and the Englishmen against the Welsh, were but the prelude to those more miserable feuds and intestine wars in which the adherents of the Yorkist and Lancastrian parties, no longer able to restrain their mutual jealousies and antipathies, involved the length and breadth of the land for thirty years in fratricidal war. During this period of rival factions and civil commotion, it is almost idle to look for outward signs of Church progress and development. The cathedral, bishop's palace, and canons' houses, lay all in ruins; the bishops lived away in the abbeys and priories, which they were allowed to retain *in commendam*. Robert de Lancaster, 1411-1433, at Valle Crucis; Lowe, 1433-1444, in his Austin Priory; Pecock, 1444-1450, a prisoner in Thorney Abbey; Knight, 1450-1471, at his priory of Daventry; and Redman, 1471-1495, at Shapp, in Westmoreland. During this period the rectories of Meifod, Guilsfield, and Welshpool were held *in commendam* with the bishopric, to eke out its diminished resources. It was not till Bishop Redman's time that any attempt was made to repair the cathedral, but the palace still remained a ruin; and Bishops David ap Iorwerth and David ap Owen continued to reside in their respective monasteries of Valle Crucis and Aberconway,—until the latter rebuilt it after a hundred years' desolation.

The deans all held preferment elsewhere, and of the canons we have practically no records for this century. And yet its close witnessed a large amount of church rebuilding and renovation. Wrexham, Gresford, Mold, Northop, Holywell, Ruthin, Holt,

and Llangollen, all show that the cessation of the Wars of the Roses was immediately followed up by the restoration of the ruined fabrics of the Church; and that it was the opportunity rather than the will that had so long delayed it.

It happened too, that, while these wars had impoverished, not to say ruined, many of the leading nobles, they had been at the same time dispersing their wealth among a new class, and investing with greater power the merchant and the tradesman. The nobles, thus impoverished, began to look with envious eyes upon the wealth of the religious houses around them; for they had not only come unharmed out of the conflict, in which they had had no share, but had even grown enriched in some cases by the investment of funds, which, as good husbandmen and careful financiers, they had been able to accumulate. And many were the calculations made by courtiers and politicians as to the profits and advantages that might accrue to themselves and to the state by a re-arrangement, as they would call it, but in reality a confiscation of their property. And when the needs of the State became urgent, and the difficulty of meeting them great, it seemed but a short and easy step from theory to practice. Many other causes, indeed, combined to render this possible, without which it never could have taken place without a revolution.

The estrangement which the monks and friars had created between the people and the secular clergy, now brought its own Nemesis, and they were themselves the first to suffer in the reaction. Their foreign sym-

pathies, for they were directly subject not to the bishops, but to the Pope, and as such were regarded as his special instruments, were particularly obnoxious to the national feelings; for the Church of this country had been, throughout the period of even its closest alliance with Rome, very jealous of its nationality and inherent independence; and claimed from Magna Charta downwards to be essentially "*Ecclesia Anglicana*," the Church of England. And this national sentiment proved to be a very powerful lever in the Reformation movement. It was not merely the substitution of one head for another in the management of its Temporalities and Spiritualities,¹ but politically it was the reassertion of its continuity with the National Church of pre-Norman times. The claim to greater sanctity of life, which the Regulars had put forward, as being pre-eminently "*The Religious*," received a great shock in the charges brought forward on the score of the irregularity that prevailed in some of their houses; for whether the charges were true or false, or only partly so, in either case they were very largely believed; and neither the noble work done by some of the greater abbeys in the education of the young, in the tending of the sick, and in the support of the poor, nor the admittedly holy lives of many of their members, were able to stem the torrent that swept away in one flood the good and the evil together.

¹ By "*spiritualities*" in this connexion were meant not, as is sometimes loosely asserted, the mission and grace of the ministerial office, but those sources of income called "*spiritualia*," which were derived from dues and offerings, as distinct from the "*temporalia*," which accrued from tithes, glebelands, and other property.

Two bishops of this diocese helped on, in different ways, the movement. Pecock (A.D. 1444-9) not only held that the clergy might marry, but maintained that it was "not necessary for salvation to believe and approve all that was affirmed and determined by a General Council; and that the universal Church may err in matters of faith." These and other opinions, deemed heretical, led to his deposition and imprisonment for life in Thorney Abbey, "where he was to have nothing to write with, no stuff to write upon"; but the influence of his writings remained, though he himself was silenced. Standish (A.D. 1518-35) was one of the bishops who assisted Queen Catherine in the suit concerning her divorce from Henry VIII., which may be looked upon as the crisis of the movement. For the king now rejected the Papal supremacy and claimed for himself to be, within this realm, the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church of England—"quantum per Christi leges liceat"; having been already entitled by the Pope, for his orthodoxy, "Defender of the Faith." And to this faith in its theological aspect he still resolutely adhered, while he facilitated a movement which owed its strength and ultimate form to the principle of reasserting in Church and State an appeal to an earlier standard; thus constituting it a re-formation rather than a revolution, and securing for it general adherence and consequent permanence. Such a movement could not, humanly speaking, have taken place before; and it was only rendered possible now by the first-fruits of the invention of printing. What had previously been of necessity the monopoly of a few very learned men, with special

opportunities and rare abilities, was now become a matter of prime interest to a new race of scholars, with advantages before unknown. Old versions of the Holy Scriptures, patristic writings, early commentaries, historical records were all laid open, compared, and weighed, with the result that, while the Church of Rome enlarged its creed by the introduction of twelve new Articles at the Council of Trent, the Church of England reverted to the more primitive method and Catholic standard of undivided Christendom, "*quod semper, ubique, ab omnibus.*" It must not be assumed, however, that so large and complicated a movement was altogether popular. The poor were especially sufferers through the dissolution of the monasteries, for they had always found succour and protection there in their need; and the Church suffered a grave and permanent loss through the alienation of those tithes, which had been appropriated to them for the purposes of charity, hospitality, and education. The actions of their spoliators did little to recommend the movement they were ruthlessly carrying on; and the new learning was not likely to commend itself to those who contrasted these fruits with their experience under the old form. Here, indeed, the people in general could not be expected to realise any great benefit; for printing was as yet an unknown quantity to the Welsh; and no book in that language had yet emanated from the press. The service books were in Latin; and the religious and devotional treatises in their own tongue were only to be found in manuscript. And these MSS. were themselves the production

almost entirely of the religious houses that were being robbed and sold to the highest bidder. The first book of a devotional character, printed in the Welsh language, was one by William Salesbury, containing the Alphabet, Kalendar, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, the Seven Virtues of the Church, the National Games, and the Bardic Measures; and this was followed in 1551 by his translation of the Epistles and Gospels for the Church's Year. But another sixteen years passed by before the first Welsh version of the New Testament was published; and for this also we are mainly indebted to the same learned and excellent man.

The Declaration, in which the dean and chapter abjured the supremacy of the Pope, and substituted for it that of the Crown, is explicit as to the national, as well as the ecclesiastical, bearing of the change. They assert that "the Roman bishop has no higher authority conferred upon him by God within this realm than any other foreign bishop"; and that, "renouncing such laws, decrees, and canons of the Bishops of Rome as are found to be contrary to the Divine law and Holy Scripture or the laws of this realm, they will adhere to the king and maintain his laws; and that, in their addresses, they will, in a catholic and orthodox sense, preach Christ, His words and deeds, simply and purely after the rule of Holy Scripture and of the truly catholic and orthodox doctors." This declaration is dated August 21, 1534, and is signed by Ffoulk Salusbury, Dean; John Britton (or Brierton), Canon; Godfrey Ruthin, Prebendary, and David Owen, Prebendary. Two of

these names represent local families, which were among the first to embrace the Reformation movement, viz., the Salusburies of Lleweni and the Goodmans of Ruthin; to the latter of whom belonged Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, who in many ways assisted Dr. Morgan, the translator of the Bible into Welsh, and also founded Christ's Hospital and the Grammar School in his native town of Ruthin.

From the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*" (26 Henry VIII., A.D. 1535, commonly known as the King's Book), we learn many interesting particulars, not only as to the value of the ecclesiastical benefices at that time; but also as to the nature and comparative growth of endowments and their destination. The deaneries and parishes remain much as they were given in the "*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*" of A.D. 1291; but with the addition of "*Liberæ Capellæ*" at Denbigh, Oswestry, and Penrhyn in Rhos. Besides which, there were also, both in town and country, many other capellæ, which, having no endowments of their own, were in some cases not reckoned at all; and in others were only taken note of for the profits of their freewill offerings, but allowed no deduction for the charges of the priest who served them; with the result, that in cases of impropriation, they were allowed to fall into disuse and ruin. Among the offerings presented at different shrines, the chief appear to have been those at St. Winifred's Well, St. Garmon's in Yale, St. Dervel Gadarn in Edeirnion, St. Monacella at Pennant, and the Holy Cross in Strata Marcella, with others in the churches of St. George, St. Martin's, and Gresford. They were presented for the most

part on the Wake or Saints' Day, and were sources of considerable addition to the income of the clergy, and to the funds for the repair and adornment of the churches. If we compare the relative value of the parochial endowments at the two periods, A.D. 1291 and A.D. 1535, we shall find that the increase has hardly exceeded the natural change in the value of money during the two centuries and a half that intervened; and that even in the monasteries, which both received the lands then given and absorbed a large amount of parochial tithes, the growth was not very great; owing, probably, to the introduction during the interval of the Statute of Mortmain—passed for the very purpose of preventing their enrichment. Thus, for instance, we find for the greater corporations the subjoined data for the respective periods as far as relates to this diocese:—

Temporalia.						Spiritualia.						
1291.						1535.						
£. s. d.						£. s. d.						
Bishop and Chapter	33	5	0	25	10	0	287	10	0	431	19	6
Abbey of Basingwerk	46	11	0	126	8	10				157	15	2
Aberconway	26	2	4	123	2	0				56	8	10
or Maenan	14	14	8	61	7	0				152	16	5
Valle Crucis	18	10	10	51	2	6				22	5	0
Strata Marcella	1	9	0	9	6	0				13	8	8
Nunnery of Llanllugan				69	14	10				91	0	0
Commandery of Halston												

This last column, "Spiritualia," is the more interesting, inasmuch as it shows the amount of parochial tithes alienated at the Dissolution of the monasteries, and therefore lost to their original, as well as to their appropriated uses.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE RESTORATION.

DURING the reign of Henry VIII. the Reformation movement is more memorable, as far, at least, as we are now concerned, for its national, political, and social aspects, than for its theological and intellectual influence. It was during the brief period of Edward VI. (1547-1553) that this aspect was brought into prominence through the employment of the printing-press and the institution of schools. Commissioners were sent down to inquire and report; and they recommended the establishment of Free Grammar Schools at the cathedral city of St. Asaph, and in the border town of Shrewsbury. Parochial schools, too, began to be held in many of the churches for the special benefit of the poor. While in the new vernacular literature, Salesbury's two books, already noticed, led the way. But it was only of short duration; for the death of Edward and the accession of Mary stopped the work, and drove the workers into hiding or exile. Salesbury withdrew to Caedu, among the hills of Hiraethog, where a curiously-constructed chamber, with a small loop window, and accessible only by a passage through the chimney, was long pointed out as his hiding-place and study during this dangerous period; while Richard Davies, his fellow-

worker, fled to Geneva. The schools were forbidden to be held in the churches. Those clergy, who had taken advantage of the permission to marry, were deprived, including in their number a former Bishop (Barlow, now of Bath and Wells), the first of English prelates to take to himself a wife; and the two archdeacons, Pollard and Thomas Davies. And a renewal of indulgences was obtained by the bishop (Goldwell) in behalf of pilgrims to St. Winifred's Well.

But, once again, the death of the Queen and the accession of Elizabeth caused a change in the aspect of affairs; for Elizabeth's sympathies were known to be with the Reformers, and her reign proved to be most auspicious for the interests of the Welsh Church. One of her first cares was to have the Welsh sees filled by natives, who could understand the language and feelings of the people, and minister to them in the tongue they understood best. Richard Davies was recalled from exile and consecrated bishop of this diocese on January 31, 1560; and we gather from a return made by him, in this same year, to Archbishop Parker, many particulars as to the condition, the preferments, and the abilities of his clergy, who were graduates, who exercised hospitality, and who had been licensed to preach. Among them we find three under age (*adhuc pueri*), two of them being prebendaries of the cathedral, and the third (*grammaticam discens*) rector of Caerwys; two not yet in holy orders (*nondum in sacris ordinibus initiati*), the sinecure rectors of Llandrillo in Rhos and Whitford; and three "pursuing their studies at Oxford," the sinecure rectors of Corwen (Edmund Meyricke, LL.B., Arch-

deacon of Bangor), Llandrillo in Edeirnion, and March-wiail—the last, however, under special licence from the bishop. The competent and licensed preachers were only five in number: Dean Evans, Chancellor Price, and the rectors of Newtown, Llanfyllin, and Llangwm (*præterea nulli sunt*).

Bishop Richard Davies was promoted to St. David's in the following year, and succeeded at St. Asaph by Thomas Davies, who had been deprived of his archdeaconry by Queen Mary; and in a diocesan council held on November 12, 1561, the following important and suggestive orders were agreed upon by the clergy:—

“That every of them have the Catechisme yn the mother tonge in Welshe, red and declared yn ther severall churches every Sonday with the answer made therunto accordingly, and yn the Englyshe tonge at . . . on Sondays and holydays.

“That every of them shall forthwith avoyd, remove, and put away, or cause to be put away, all and every fayned relyques and other supersticyons had withyn ther severall churches, and abolysche ther auters yn the same, within eight days.

“That every parson, vycar, or curate, and stypendary prest, being under the degre of a Master of Arte, shall have and provyde to have yn his use and occupation the New Testament yn Latin and Englyshe, with the paraphrase of

Erasmus upon the same, and to learn two chapters of the same yn memorie without the boke, viz^t. the first to the Romans and the sixth of John.

“The Litany to be sung or seyed on Wenesdays and Frydays.

“After the pistyll and gospell, yn Englyshe, the same to be red also in Welshe.”

The stipend of the “lady-prest” was to be assigned to “a scholemaster for the teaching of children, wherby idellness of yowth may be avoyded, and the same kept to learning and browght upp in love and fear of God and knowledge of ther dewties toward the worlde.”

Two years later, an Act of Parliament was passed imposing on the bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, St. David's, Llandaff, and Hereford, the duty of translating the Bible into the Welsh language, under a penalty if it did not appear within a certain period ; but it made no provision for the expenses of the work or the costs of printing. William Salesbury, who had already proved his devotion, ability, and learning (for he was master of nine languages, besides English and Welsh), was appointed by them to superintend the work and act as general editor. With the assistance of Bishop Richard Davies, an eminent Biblical scholar, and one of the translators of the new English version, known as Parker's, who translated the Epistles—1 Timothy, Hebrews, St. James, St. Peter 1 and 2 ; and of Huet, precentor of

St. David's, who translated the Book of Revelation. The whole of the New Testament was completed and published in 1567, in which year the bishop and Salesbury also produced, at their joint labour and expense, the first complete Welsh version of the Book of Common Prayer.

In his Preface to the New Testament, the Bishop further held out a promise of the speedy appearance of the translation of the Old Testament; and, according to the memoirs of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, "they were very onward with it, and had gone through with it, if variance had not happened between them after they had spent nearly two years in that business, concerning the general sense and etymology of one word which the bishop would have to be one way and William Salesbury another, to the great loss of the old British and mother tongue. The book, thus unfortunately interrupted, was long delayed, until Dr. William Morgan, vicar of Llanrhaiadr in Mochnant, consented to take it in hand. But the difficulty of the task, the heavy expenses, and the opposition he met with, would have deterred him, as he tells us in his Dedication, from proceeding further than the Pentateuch, had it not been for the encouragement, the counsel, and the pecuniary assistance of Archbishop Whitgift. He was opposed, on the one hand, by those who looked upon the undertaking as an obstacle to the fusion of the two peoples, and maintained that the best means of union and concord was to compel the Welsh to learn the English language. To this objection Dr. Morgan replied with many and earnest

reasons, especially protesting against making political unity a plea for ignoring religious truth, and adding a grave warning lest, while waiting to learn English, the people should lose hold of religion itself. Another obstacle arose from his own parish; for his people complained to the Archbishop that he was incompetent for the task, and was neglecting them on its account. Whereupon he was summoned to appear before Whitgift, who, however, formed so high an opinion of his merit and abilities, that he made him his chaplain, and helped him in many ways to complete the translation.

Others, to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness for books, criticism, counsel, and hospitality during the progress of the work, were the bishops of St. Asaph (William Hughes) and Bangor (Hugh Bellot), the Dean of Westminster (Gabriel Goodman), Dr. David Powel, the learned Welsh scholar and annotator, Archdeacon Edmund Prys, author of the "Metrical Version of the Psalms in Welsh," and Richard Vaughan; Provost of St. John's Hospital, Lutterworth, bishop successively of Bangor, Chester, and London. The completed translation was published in 1588, and its excellence may be inferred from the fact, that many of its renderings, which were altered in the Authorised Version of 1620, are nevertheless supported by the Revised Version of 1885; and that two remarkable omissions, alleged by Dr. Griffith in Convocation, in 1640, as reasons for a new Edition, were not omitted in Dr. Morgan's Version at all, but in Bishop Parry's Authorised Version of 1620, which was followed by that of 1631.

To realise the value of this inestimable boon is indeed impossible. The absence of a version in their own language had hitherto hindered the general reading and preaching of the Word, and the terms used in its explanation had sometimes been of doubtful, because unsettled, meaning, and so had been misunderstood from want of familiarity.

We have already seen how, at the Diocesan Council held in 1561, it had been required, in view of this difficulty, that the Catechism and the Epistle and Gospel for the day should be regularly read both in Welsh and English ; and in the Articles of Convocation, 1575, it is further provided : " That every bishop shall take order that every parson, vicar, as being under the degree of Master of Arts, and being no preacher shall have of his own a New Testament, both in Latin and English or Welsh, and shall confer daily one chapter of the same, the Latin and English or Welsh together. . . . And that archdeacons, commissaries, and officials in their synods and visitations shall appoint to every such some certain tax of the New Testament to be conned without book or otherwise to be travailed in and shall exact a rehearsal of the same and examine them." Now that the whole Bible was available, it was ordered to be set up in the churches, that all who could might resort thither at all times to read, or hear it read ; that the reproach might be rolled away, which was written in the preamble to the Act, 1563, viz., that the people of Wales " were entirely destitute of God's Holy Word, and remained in the like, or rather, more, darkness and ignorance

than they had been in the time of Papistry." That the new boon was used and valued may be inferred from the fact that within thirty-two years a new edition of Dr. Morgan's translation was issued by Dr. Parry, his successor in the see, who, in 1620, with the aid of his learned chaplain, Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, author of a Latin-Welsh and Welsh-Latin dictionary, brought it more into accord with the Authorised English Version of King James. And this again was crowned by another advance, when Sir Thomas Myddelton and Mr. Rowland Heylyn, both natives of this diocese, but resident in London, published, at their joint expense, the first portable and handy edition of the Bible and Prayer Book in a small octavo size.

Grave complaints have indeed been made against Bishop Hughes on the ground of "misgoverning his diocese, and of tolerating the most disgraceful abuses." And certainly the record is sad enough; but how far the bishop was responsible, or could have helped it under the circumstances, is not so clear. He himself was charged with having "held sixteen rich livings *in commendam*," but they do not appear to have been held all at once; and some of them only for a year, the fact being that, owing to the impoverishment of the see, a Faculty was allowed him by the archbishop to hold the archdeaconry and other benefices to the value of £150 per annum. It is almost certain, too, that in the late years of his episcopate he had to bear his share in the heavy expenses of the publication of the new Welsh Bible. "Most of the great livings were in the possession of

persons who lived out of the country," showing that the old system of Papal provision still bore fruit in the matter of sinecures. "One person that had two of the greatest livings in the diocese boarded in an alehouse;" and as he must have been Mr. George Smyth, the chancellor of the diocese, it shows that the glebe houses must have been either very few in number, or else reduced to a sad state of dilapidation. The last charge was, that "only three preachers resided upon their livings;" but "preacher" meant much more then than it does now, involving not only a competency to compose theological treatises—for such the sermons of those days were—but to be able to do so when there was as yet no Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular—a standard well illustrated by the only three clergymen so licensed, viz., Dr. William Morgan, the translator of the Old Testament; Dr. David Powel, the eminent Welsh scholar; and Archdeacon Powel, the aged rector of Llanfechain.

That the bishop was not altogether indifferent to his episcopal duties is manifested both by the assistance he rendered to Dr. Morgan in his great literary work, and by an expensive lawsuit in which he became involved, through refusing to institute a Mr. Bagshawe to the living of Whittington in 1585, because he did not understand Welsh sufficiently well to minister therein to the inhabitants of the parish.

He was succeeded in 1601 by William Morgan, the translator of the Bible, whom Queen Elizabeth had promoted in 1595 to the bishopric of Llandaff;

and a controversy which he had with Sir John Wynn of Gwydir shortly afterwards, shows what powerful influences were brought to bear in the matter of sinecures, and what sterling qualities were required in a bishop to withstand the pressure. Sir John, pleading some kind offices he had rendered to the bishop in his youth, applied to him for a lease of the rectory of Llanrwst, and this the bishop refused to grant on the ground of conscience, "which assureth me that your request is such, that in granting it I should prove myself an dishonest, unconscionable, and irreligious man ; you a sacrilegious robber of my church, a perfidious spoiler of my diocese, and an unnatural hinderer of preachers and good scholars,—the consideration of which would be a continual terror and torment to my conscience."

From the records of a Synod of the Clergy held on October 26, 1601, within a month of his translation, we learn that they first taxed themselves, according to immemorial usage, with a rate of 3d. in the pound on all their ecclesiastical incomes, according to the "Book of First-fruits," and that the bishop admonished them to have a sermon in every parish church once, at least, in every three months—to hold divine service and catechisings on every Sunday and Festival, morning and evening, and on the mornings of Wednesday and Friday, and the evening of Saturday ; and added a peremptory warning against celebrating clandestine marriages. At a chapter held in the following March, under the presidency of the bishop, a scheme was drawn up for a series of sermons in the cathedral by the

respective members of the chapter; and to this Bishop John Owen, in 1630, added a further order, which required those members who derived a portion of their income from the parish of St. Asaph to take their turn of Welsh sermons in the parish church.

Of the general state of the diocese, we are told in his Return, made in 1633 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that "all is exceedingly well, save only that the number and boldness of the Romish recusants increased much in many places, and was much encouraged by the superstition and frequent concourse of some of that party to Holywell, otherwise called "St. Winifred's Well." And again, a year later, the bishop writes that they "were not anywhere troubled with inconformity, but that he heartily wished that they might be as well acquitted from superstition and profaneness." These words indicate that, while on the one hand the greater care for Church order, discipline, and work were bearing fruit in the disappearance of inconformity, the two extremes of Rome and Geneva were becoming sources of increasing danger. The Roman Catholics, on the one hand, who had continued to worship and receive the sacraments in the parish churches for the first eleven years of Elizabeth's reign, and only ceased to do so on the excommunication of the Queen by the Pope, when he found that it was no longer possible to recover the supremacy, had been becoming, on religious grounds, more definitely separatist, and, from the days of the Gunpowder Plot, were, on political grounds, feared and watched. On the other hand, the more violent Puritans, who thought that

the Reformation had by no means gone far enough, and that the best way to reform was first to eradicate, treated the Word of God with much profaneness of expression, and caricatured religion in the phraseology of their everyday life. Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists combined together against the Church ; but when they had overthrown her, they strove for the mastery in turn for themselves. Although there had already been a great clearance made by the impeachment, fining, and imprisonment of the bishop—by the deprivation of the clergy who refused to accept the Solemn League and Covenant, or to substitute the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer, the climax was not reached until the promulgation of the Act of 1649, “for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales,” which made a tolerably clean sweep of the remaining clergy. A committee of seventy-two persons was thereby appointed for the thirteen counties,—(1), to receive all charges that should be exhibited against any parson, vicar, curate, and schoolmaster, or any other having or to have ecclesiastical benefit or promotion ; to grant warrants for their attendance, to examine witnesses on oath, and either on the admission of the accused or the oath of two credible witnesses, to eject the said parson, &c., allowing, if they saw fit, for his wife and children a sum not exceeding one-fifth of the living, all parish charges, public taxes, and other duties, being first deducted out of the whole.” On this committee were men like Twistleton, the Republican Governor of Denbigh Castle, and John Jones (the regicide), who took care, while removing

the clergy from their benefices, to secure for themselves some of the episcopal lands; and when we learn that under the charges of immorality and scandal were included "bowing at the name of Jesus," "assisting His Majesty," "refusing to contribute to the rebellion," and singing the 43rd Psalm, "Then shall I to the altar go," and others of a like character, we are not surprised to read that the rector of Garthbeibio was not allowed even to make any defence, that the vicar of Llanasa, though for fourteen years under sequestration, was unable to recover any fifths, and that the vicar of Welsh Pool was forced to withdraw, with his wife and family, first to Merionethshire, and thence into Anglesey.

The committee were (2), to grant certificates to such as should be approved by a body of twenty-five ministers of the Gospel, nominated for the purpose, "for preaching as well in settled congregation and parochial charges as in an itinerary course," and for their support to receive and dispose of all rectories and other ecclesiastical livings." This committee of approvers consisted of Presbyterians, Independents, and Antipædo-Baptists, and among them, connected in one way or another with this diocese, were Ambrose Moston, and Morgan Lloyd, of Wrexham, Stephen Lewis, the intruded vicar of Meifod, William Jones, preacher at Denbigh Castle under Governor Twistleton, Vavasor Powell, and Rowland Nevett, of Oswestry. And as (3), "no person was thenceforth to be vested in any rectory, vicarage, or other ecclesiastical promotion, unless recommended and approved of" by them, it is only

necessary we should bear in mind their heterogeneous composition, in order to realise the absolute need of the requirement, that if these intruded ministers would retain their benefices after the Restoration, they must submit to episcopal ordination.

Very few of the episcopal clergy retained their benefices under these accumulated conditions. "In Montgomeryshire, the county where I lived," writes Vavasor Powell, "there were eleven or twelve never rejected; so in all other counties, more or less," therefore, for every such one remaining in, there must have been three or more deprived. Indeed, if the handwriting and orthography of the parish registers, and subsequent insertions for the Commonwealth period, be any index, and they ought to be, we should say that a much larger proportion were driven out. Among them were not only the bishop (Owen), the Dean (Maurice), and the whole Cathedral Chapter; but also, among others resident or holding *commendams* in the diocese, Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. William Nicholson, his successor in that see, Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, J. Meredith, Provost of Eton, and Warden of All Souls, Humphrey Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, and John Lloyd, who became subsequently Archdeacon of Merioneth.

It was not, however, the clergy only that suffered during these troubles; the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings shared in the misfortunes of war. Llansilin and Oswestry, parish churches, were occupied by the Royal forces, and the latter was also battered by the Parliamentarians. At Wrexham, Flint,

and Holywell, Sir William Brereton and his forces "did pull down the organs, defaced the windows and the monuments, and pulled down the arms and hatchments." And the cathedral, upon which considerable care and expense had been laid out, was used as a stable for the horses of one Miller, a postmaster, who occupied the Bishop's Palace as an inn, fed his calves in the bishop's throne, and removed the font into his yard for use as a watering-trough.

How, meanwhile, did the people in general fare in the matter of spiritual provision for their wants? In the towns—the larger ones at least—a resident minister was put in charge; but in a large number of country parishes, they were left to the chances of itinerancy. The inhabitants of Guilsfield state, in a petition to the Committee of Approvers, in 1652, that since "Mr. Ellis,¹ an able divine, had been sequestered for supposed delinquencies, they had been without communion, without baptism, visitinge of the sick or form of a church: the church door being commonly shut on the Lord's Day, as particularly on Easter Day last and the Sunday following; that the service of God was much decayed, and religion scandalised; and that their sacred rights are not only withheld, but invectives published against such as shall minister them to us, by ambulating preachers, who tell us theyr sermons are sufficient for salvation, and recompense enough for the tithes we pay, which are exacted of us with all rigour." The invectives mentioned above referred most likely to the new

¹ The late vicar.

sect of Quakers, which had recently sprung up in opposition to the extravagances of the Puritans—and had established a footing at Cloddiau Cochion in that parish. “Amongst the Anabaptists,” writes the Presbyterian, Richard Baxter, “was an abundance of young transported zealots, and a medley of opinionists who all hasted directly to enthusiasm and subdivisions, and brought forth the horrid sect of Ranters, Seekers, and Quakers in the land.” The Quakers were peculiarly obnoxious to the new powers, not only for the contemptuous way in which they sometimes addressed them as “blind guides,” “hirelings,” “deceivers,” &c., but also for their troublesome interference in the religious services, during which they would sometimes stand up and contradict the preacher, and at other times would rise up uninvited and speak; one sequel of which was, as Richard Davies tells us, in his “Autobiography,” “we were committed to prison on that law, made in Oliver’s days, that none was to speak to the priest or preachers, neither at their worship, nor coming and going.”

There came, however, after awhile, deliverance from the self-righteousness and tyranny of these evil times. Those few clergy who survived the interregnum were restored to their old cures, wherever the then holder preferred to resign rather than subscribe to the Act of Uniformity; the three conditions of which were episcopal ordination, assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer, and renunciation of the Solemn League and Covenant—a Presbyterian oath, which was directed chiefly against the episcopal clergy, and bound every one “to endeavour the

extirpation of prelacy." And here, let us contrast for a moment the principle and the honesty, supposing the sufferings on each side, for argument's sake, to have been equal, of the two parties respectively. Of the "Episcopal Clergy," three fourths, at the very least, had given up their benefices rather than submit to violate their consciences ; while of the "ejected ministers" intruded into their places, I can only make out twenty-one for the whole diocese of St. Asaph, comprising the counties of Denbigh and Flint, with portions of Montgomery, Merioneth, and Salop, and this from "a list as complete as it could be made, of the ministers and itinerant preachers in the Principality, who were either silenced after the restoration or rejected by the Act of Uniformity," published in 1861 in the "History of Protestant Non-conformity in Wales." If we further analyse this list of twenty-one, we shall find that five were itinerants without fixed charge, and described as Independents or Baptists, and that of the other sixteen only eleven were settled ministers ; the other five being made up of two schoolmasters (one "not in orders" at all) and three others described respectively as "a candidate for the ministry," "a strict Congregationalist and high Dissenter," and "an eminent saint and famous preacher" ; and yet again, of the eleven ministers, three had been active as members of the Committee of Approvers, and another afterwards conformed, whilst of yet another Philip Henry writes in his "Diary" that Dr. Griffith, bishop of the diocese, is his friend, and keeps him *in salva conscientia*.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO 1811.

How many of the deprived clergy survived the sufferings and hardships of the Commonwealth, and lived to be restored to their former benefices, is uncertain. But when we bear in mind that the laity had suffered at least as sorely during that period, and were much more exasperated, we do not wonder that some strict precautions were taken to prevent a recurrence of that bitter past. The Puritans had ranged themselves on one side, not only in religion, but also in politics. And as, on the one hand, a Romanist faction was now intriguing for the re-establishment of Popery, and on the other, the "remnants of the Republican party were seeking to take advantage of the Dutch war, and throw the kingdom into confusion and anarchy, that they might once more try the experiment of their beloved Commonwealth,"¹ the Conventicle Act and the Five-Mile Act were passed, with a view especially to counteract the danger with which these two parties were believed to threaten, on their respective lines, the quiet and well-being of the restored State.

Bishop Owen having died at Aberkinsey, during

¹ Southey's "Book of the Church," pp. 439-441.

his deprivation in 1651, was succeeded on the restoration by Dr. George Griffith, who had been his chaplain, and a Proctor in Convocation for the clergy of the diocese. Although he had been engaged in long and bitter controversy with Vavasor Powell, in whose neighbourhood he lived, he appears, nevertheless to have retained his living of Llanymynech throughout the Commonwealth. When promoted to the bishopric, he set at once about the work of restoring the interrupted ministrations of the parishes and the damaged fabrics of the churches. In 1662 he revived the scheme of sermons drawn up by Bishop Morgan in 1601, substituting only for November 17, May 29, as a day of public thanksgiving for the end of the great rebellion, and adding January 30 in memory of the martyred king. He also took an active part in the revision of the Prayer Book, and had a chief hand in composing the form for the baptism of adults, a service now rendered necessary by the tenets and practices of the Baptists and the Quakers.

From a return sent by him in 1666 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, we find three kinds of pluralities enumerated as then existing in this diocese :—

- (1.) Outlayers that held sinecures here, but lived abroad altogether upon their other preferments, of whom there were twelve.
- (2.) Pluralists resident within the diocese, having sinecures with those other with cure of souls ; and these also were twelve in number.
- (3.) Such as have more benefices than one with

cure of souls,—of which there were four cases besides his own *Commendam*, which included the archdeaconry.

As some of these vicarages were insufficient by themselves to support an incumbent, his next successor but one, Isaac Barrow (1669-80), who had previously been bishop, and for some time Governor of the Isle of Man, procured the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1678, by virtue of which the sinecures of Denbigh, Llanrwst, Caerwys, Machynlleth, Nannerch, Llandyssil, and one of the comports of Llansannan were consolidated with their respective vicarages; the vicarage of Llanarmen in Yale, improved by the addition of the parsonage-house and the glebe lands; and the sinecure of Llanrhaidr, in Mochnant, appropriated to the dean and chapter for the repairs of the cathedral and the augmentation of the revenue of the choir; and until this became available, he resigned his own *Commendam* of Ysgeifiog for that purpose. He further showed his care for the diocese by refusing to renew the lease of his Manor of Meliden, which would have been to his own great profit, but at the expense of his successor,—a proceeding which gained for him the commendation of the king, and a promise that it should not thereafter be in the power of any bishop to make any lease thereof that should be in force any longer than his own time. Other instances of Bishop Barrow's concern and liberality were the re-covering the north and south aisles of the cathedral with lead; the wainscoting of

the eastern parts of the choir; the expenditure of much money on the palace and the mill belonging to it; the erection of an almshouse for eight poor widows, which he also endowed with £8 per annum; and the bequest of £200 towards a Free School, which he had purposed, if spared, himself to build. A life marked by such continuous acts of generous sympathy for others was closed with a request for the prayers of posterity; for on his tombstone, near the west door of the cathedral was long to be seen this epitaph, composed by himself,—“O vos transeuntes in Domum Domini, domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro ut inveniat misericordiam in Die Domini.”

Some statistics of the numbers and relative proportions of Conformists, Nonconformists, and Papists, of communicant age, within the diocese in the year 1676, given in Bishop Barlow's (of Lincoln) “Remains,” pp. 314-321, are interesting and instructive.

The total number of Conformists was 45,088; of Nonconformists, 635; and of Papists, 275; and their relative proportion, Conformists to Nonconformists, as 71 to 1, and to Papists, 163 to 1; while the Nonconformists were to Papists as 2 to 1.

Bishop William Lloyd, the successor of Isaac Barrow, a prelate of singular learning and ability, and of untiring industry and devotion to duty, made it a first endeavour, after his promotion to the see in 1680, to win back the Nonconformists by friendly conference and argument. For which purpose he invited, first, the Quakers to meet him at Llanfyllin, and afterwards the Presbyterians at Oswestry, to

confer together and discuss their points of difference. Each side was represented by prominent and able champions, the bishop being supported by Mr. Humphreys, dean of Bangor (afterwards bishop of Bangor and of Hereford), and Mr. Henry Dodwell. And although, as might have been expected, he did not succeed in convincing either the one section or the other, he nevertheless, by his gravity, calmness, and evenness of spirit, won their goodwill and smoothed down the rough edges of their antagonism. In the following year, he issued some "Directions to his clergy in order to a Notitia of his diocese," among which, under each parish, information was required as to the names of the housekeepers, the number of souls in each family, and the ages of all under 18, without names; the names of all Popish recusants, and of all persons under excommunication; an account of all sums of money given to any pious or charitable use, and not disposed of for the same; a copy of the church register for the year, and all licences for marriage granted since the death of his predecessor, "with the heads of all those things which you think fitt to impart for my information, or wherein you desire my advice or assistance in matters belonging to the Church." Some of these results, with other points, substituted or added by later bishops, were summarised by Bishop Tanner, and carried down by others to the year 1745, and have greatly facilitated the history of that period, as they give also the names of the townships, the value and appropriation of the tithes, with memoranda of moduses and dues, an abstract of terriers, and the

dedication of the churches, together with notices of the services and the charities.

A similar care for the efficiency of the spiritual ministrations is evidenced by certain orders agreed upon by the bishop and clergy, at a Synod held at St. Asaph, on July 4, 1683, "for the more decent and orderly administration of the holy offices," and the due performance of their ecclesiastical duties. They are arranged under nine heads, and are valuable for the directions they give with respect to:—1, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; 2, baptism; 3, burial; 4, excommunication and absolution; 5, the observation of the Lord's Day; 6, admitting and swearing of wardens; 7, the residence of the clergy; 8, terriers; and 9, gifts to charitable uses.

One difficulty that pressed heavily upon him was the supply of clergy, as affected by an article of Convocation passed in 1685, which restrained the ordination of those who were not graduates in the University, a restraint which the bishop had at the time excepted against, as not being practicable in the Welsh dioceses. "For we have a great many more cures of souls, than we have graduates in this country; and, as most of the people understand nothing but Welsh, we cannot supply the cures with any other but Welsh men." He was obliged, therefore, sometimes to overlook the restriction, and he pleads in his apology to the archbishop that of those whom he had ordained, the graduates had not been always the best scholars. "I have more than once seen them shamefully outdone by men that never saw the University, and I never ordained any but them that could perform the exer-

cise required by the 34th canon of the Synod in 1603."

It must have been with no little satisfaction that he could write thus modestly towards the close of his busy episcopate. "For the state of the Church in North Wales, I bless God I do not know any reason we have to complain. I am well assured that in these six counties there are not six persons fewer in the communion of our Church than there were in the beginning of His Majesty's reign. And for them that are in the Church communion, who are the generality of our people, I thank God I do not find that they grow worse. I hope they rather grow better; and, that which is my greatest comfort, I do not know of one scandalous Churchman in this diocese."

The leading part taken by him as one of "The Seven Bishops" in resisting the unconstitutional proceedings of the king, when he tried to abrogate the penal laws by his own personal authority, their imprisonment in the Tower, their trial and acquittal, and the triumphant joy with which it was hailed by the people, are well-known portions of our national history. Less known is his share in bringing about the accession of William and Mary to the throne, which, in one respect at least, had a baneful influence on the fortunes of the Church. For the refusal of the non-jurors to transfer to them the allegiance they had sworn to James was resented, not only by depriving them of their sees and benefices, but also by the introduction of politics into the conditions of ecclesiastical promotion, and a corresponding blight of spiritual interests. The vacant sees and livings

were filled by the appointment of friends and sympathisers of William and Mary, with little regard for the spiritual good of the people. This bishopric, rendered vacant by the promotion of Lloyd to that of Lichfield and Coventry in 1692, was filled by the transfer of Edward Jones (a Montgomeryshire man) from Cloyne in Ireland; an appointment which proved very disastrous to this diocese, and was the less excusable because one who for his ability and merits had been earnestly hoped for, was passed over because he had opposed Dr. (now Archbishop) Tennison in the Convocation of 1689. Bishop Jones's administration was in painful contrast to that of his predecessor. "Perhaps no bishop ever took possession of his see with more advantage than he did; for the diocese had undergone, in all respects, the strictest regulation under the care and government of Bishop Lloyd for the space of twelve years; the clergy were under exact discipline, the several parishes furnished with painful and deserving pastors, the revenues of the bishopric increased, and the rights of the Church everywhere recovered and settled." Whereas this episcopate was marked by so much corruption, negligence, and oppression, that an address, signed by thirty-eight of the leading beneficed clergy, was sent in 1697 to the archbishop, enumerating, under no less than thirty-four heads, their complaints against the bishop, and praying for an inquiry. The bishop was summoned the following year to answer these charges; and by his own confession had been guilty of gross neglect of ecclesiastical discipline, not only in not punishing, but even in promoting, offenders; had

permitted laymen to perform the office of curates ; had disposed simoniacally of some of his preferments ; had allowed his wife to receive money, by way of earnest, for certain promotions ; and had been in the habit of appropriating to himself a year's profits of vacant livings on the plea of carrying on a lawsuit for the recovery of the advowson of Llanuwchllyn. The archbishop's sentence, pronounced after three years' delay, was that "he should be suspended from his episcopal office, administration, and emoluments, for the space of six months" ; "et ultra donec satisfecerit,"—a sentence strangely inadequate to the offence.¹ A brief interval intervened between his restitution and his death ; and he was succeeded, after the six months' episcopate of Dr. Hooper, by William Beveridge (1704-1708), who at once set about reviving the custom of public catechising, which had of late fallen into much disuse ; and, to facilitate this object published, for the use of his clergy, a "Plain and Easy Exposition of the Church Catechism." Two measures which greatly benefited the poor clergy about this time were the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty and the abolition of Mortuaries. By the former, certain "first-fruits" and "tenths" paid on bishoprics and other benefices of a certain value, originally to the Pope and, from 26 Henry VIII., to the Crown, were granted by the Queen for their better support ; and by the latter, certain payments made to the bishop on the death of the clergy,—

¹ The contemporary Bishop of St. David's, Thomas Watson, 1687-99, was also deprived for simony.

reasonable enough in the case of a celibate priesthood, but often oppressive in the case of a widow and children,¹ were done away with, and the bishop recouped by the first sinecure in his patronage that fell vacant. As this happened to be Northop, and the mortuaries had never been of any considerable value (for Bishop Fleetwood, at least, had rarely taken them in kind), the arrangement proved to be a mutual boon. Usually, he had forgiven the poor widows,—and probably his predecessors had done likewise,—and he had compounded with the richer ones, and applied the money to buying books for the new library he had caused to be made over the school.

From Bishop Fleetwood's Primary Charge (1710), which was very explicit on the duties of the ministers, churchwardens, and people, and was, contrary to the usual practice, printed and sent round to the clergy some time before his Visitation, we learn that there were two abuses he resolved to amend; viz., the non-residence of "some rectors who thought themselves at liberty to absent themselves because not tied by oath to canonical residence as vicars were,"—a plea which he declared to be contrary to the Act 21 Hen. VIII.; and the substitution, in some places, of a sermon once in every fortnight or three weeks

¹ In this diocese they comprised "his best gelding, horse, or mare, his best gown, best cloak, coat, jerkin, doublet, and breeches, his hose or nether stockings, shoes and garters, his waistcoat, hat and cap, his faulchion, his best book and surplice, his purse and girdell, his knife and gloves, and his signet or ring of gold."

for one every week. This, too, he insisted on amending; but left it to the discretion of the incumbent whether it should be in Welsh or in English; at the same time expressly disapproving the action of those clergy who gave an English sermon to favour one or two families in the parish at the expense of the rest of the parishioners. With his Charge he also sent a request to the clergy that they would supply him at his visitation with a short account of their parish and church, its dedication-wake, monuments, superstitious usages, townships, tithes, and titheholders; thus supplementing and completing to date the lines of information already marked out, as we have seen, by Bishop Lloyd. With many excellent qualities, however, the bishop was not popular in his diocese; for both clergy and laity were more in sympathy with the churchmanship of the earlier than with the growing latitudinarianism of this, and the last Stuart, reigns; and they chafed at the wrong inflicted on them by the last three appointments of men unacquainted with their language. On the translation, therefore, of Fleetwood to Ely in 1714, George I., in order to reconcile them to his family, appointed as his successor a native of the diocese, Dr. John Wynne, Principal of Jesus College and Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford.¹ Indeed, so far was this feeling made to reach that the loyalty of every beneficed clergyman to the House of Hanover was made for some time a regular item of the Visitation Articles.

¹ The appointment, however, of Hoadley to Bangor in 1716, was little calculated to have this effect in the sister diocese.

From the reports of the rural deans in 1729 and 1749 we are able to gather so many interesting particulars about the ministrations, the fabrics, and some of the parochial customs, that we can form a fair estimate of the state of the Church at the end of the first two quarters of the century. In 1729, the rule was to have on Sundays morning prayer with a sermon, and in the afternoon evensong with catechising, though in some places the catechising was limited to Lent; a monthly celebration of the Holy Communion; the holy days were generally observed; in the communion of the sick it was customary to wear the surplice; and the offertory was collected every Sunday for the support of the poor, except in the deanery of Bromfield, which followed the English custom of levying a tax for that object, in accordance with the Act 43 Elizabeth. That deanery differed also from the rest of the diocese in not having offerings at funerals. The fabrics of the churches were beginning to undergo considerable change; instead of the old loops and lancets letting in a dim religious light through what had still survived of their painted glass, Hanoverian windows, with round heads and sashes, were introduced; pews and appropriations began to occupy the body of the church, in lieu of the open seats or "commons"; and in order to supply the room thus monopolised, the old rood-lofts were in many cases removed from their position between the chancel and the nave, and portions of them utilised in a new gallery, for the lighting of which dormers were inserted in the roofs, and at the same time the chancels were filled with seats right

to the east end. While the chancel, however, was generally flagged, the rest of the flooring was often only carpeted with rushes; the nave, moreover, was very often used as a schoolroom, and the churchyard as its playground, and this as well on Sundays as weekdays. In one or two mountain parishes even markets and fairs were held in the churchyards, and they complained of "buying and selling in the very porches"; a survival from the past, and a witness, however incongruous to our ideas of reverence, to that hallowing of daily work which was intended, and that special protection which was conferred on such occasions, as well as of the particular source of income from tolls and fees by which the scanty incomes of the clergy had in mediæval times been supplemented. Clandestine marriages were matters of complaint in more places than one, and in some Montgomeryshire parishes the people refused to pay the Church levy or "lewn," because it was not recoverable, like the poor's rate, and they declared that if turned out of the Church they would be welcomed in the meeting-houses.

In 1749 the services were performed with regularity, not only on Sundays and holy days, but also on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, and in Denbigh, Oswestry, and Wrexham daily; catechising was frequent, and the Holy Communion administered monthly, the numbers returned as communicating at Easter being very large.

The Church fabrics, however, were in many cases in but an indifferent state, nor did they receive very much help from the costly system of "Briefs," by

which it was the custom to meet extraordinary expenditure. For instance, while there was collected on 9,902 Briefs for Llanddulas church, in 1732, the sum of £649. 13s. 8d., the patents charges and costs of collection absorbed £432. 17s. 6d., leaving for the building of the church only £216. 16s. 2d. And in like manner, in the case of Whittington, where 9,986 Briefs brought in £614. 12s. 9d., the costs swallowed up £330. 16s., leaving an available balance of only £273. 16s. 3d. Akin to the condition of the churches was that of the parsonage-houses. In many parishes, indeed, none existed, and in some they were only mud-floored cottages of a single story; and as there was no Queen Anne's Bounty available for their repair, it was either found cheaper to rent some other house in the parish, or sometimes there was united with it another cure with a better residence; but with the one common result of increasing decay and accumulating mischief, temporal and spiritual, for the future.

This combined with many other grave causes to render the interval to the close of this century the darkest and most hurtful period of the Church's history. Externally, indeed, as far as the old Nonconformity was concerned, the Church had had little to complain of or to fear; for statistics compiled in 1715 show that in the three counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery there were only four Presbyterian places of worship, with an average attendance of 440; five Independent, with an attendance of 300; and one Anabaptist, with 150; while another return, dated 1742, and made by one of themselves, proves that

their numbers had increased but little in the interval. "In Denbighshire there are three congregations of Dissenters, viz., a small one in the town of Denbigh, and two in Wrexham, and, I might add, one in Oswestry, which, though in Shropshire, the people are Welsh, and border on Denbighshire. In Flintshire is a small one; in Merionethshire there is but one, not far from Bala; in Montgomeryshire there are five congregations, two of which were lately gathered by that excellent minister of Christ, Mr. Lewis Rees, who preaches at five places in this county, and two in Merionethshire, between twenty and thirty miles from his habitation." Add to these a few Roman Catholics and Quakers, and we have the relative proportion of Churchmen and Dissenters one hundred and forty years ago. What, then, were some of the chief causes that have led to such a contrast as we see now existing? Many of the causes were, no doubt, common to England and Wales, and have left bitter fruits there as well as here; but one, at least, with results of its own, was peculiar to the Principality,—I mean, of course, the language, which presented, it must be admitted, a grave barrier to the free intercourse of the component parts of the kingdom, and was a drawback to the worldly advancement of the monoglot Welshman. But how was it faced? Was it by carefully selecting for their spiritual guidance and oversight the best material their council afforded,—men of the stamp of the earlier Tudor bishops, such as Davies, Morgan, Parry, Griffith, and Lloyd; and providing for their further instruction in the language of business by means of week-day

schools? Alas ! no ; and, incredible as it may seem, from 1727 to 1870—for a period of 150 years—no Welsh-speaking bishop presided over this diocese ; not one who could administer confirmation in the language alone understood by the monoglot catechumen, or could take part efficiently in any other office of the Church in the Welsh tongue. And it was no better in the other three dioceses. Perhaps this sense of incongruity emphasised their desire for the spread of English, and led them to be less strict as to the proficiency in Welsh of some of those whom they admitted into holy orders and promoted to benefices. Besides which, they believed, no doubt, that it would be the best thing for the people themselves to lose a language which was a bar to their material advancement. But it was a mistaken method ; and as it began at the wrong end, it tended to aggravate the evil they were so anxious to minimise. One of its first fruits was to check and almost extinguish a feature which had honourably distinguished the Welsh clergy of the past, namely, their zeal for the publication of books in the vernacular for the enlightenment of their countrymen,¹ and to hand over the powerful instrument of the press to those who have not been slow to use it to the Church's detriment.

Another cause was the evil of non-residence, in which the bishops themselves too often set the example. For from 1750 to 1795, a half-century of

¹ This may easily be seen by comparing the respective periods in the Rev. D. Silvan Evans's edition of "*Llyfryddiaeth y Cymru*," an account of Welsh books down to the year 1800. Price, Llanidloes.

momentous importance for the welfare of the Welsh Church, not one of the bishops of St. Asaph resided within his diocese for more than a month or two in the summer of each year. Nor can it be pleaded here, as it may justly be elsewhere, that the income was utterly inadequate; though, even so, a chief pastor's first duty should have been to the diocese under his charge. To non-residence was added "pluralism" to a large extent. The sinecures that should have helped the working clergy of the more poorly endowed parishes were too often heaped in the two richer North Welsh sees on relatives and personal friends of the bishops; while poor incumbents and ill-paid curates were left to eke out a scanty maintenance with school-keeping through the week, and the duties of two and even three adjoining yet distant churches on the Sundays. This treatment led to considerable estrangement of feeling between the inferior clergy, who discharged most of the duties, and the superior ones, who received most of the rewards.¹

In spite, however, of these discouragements, and

¹ *e.g.* Take three years of Bishop Newcome's episcopate, 1761-69. Residing himself almost entirely at Whitchurch in Shropshire, he promoted in—

1764. March 3, Henry Newcome to Rectory of Llanymynech.

„ „ 23, „ „ transferred to Vicarage of
Gresford.

„ May 4, Peter Newcome to Prebend of Llanfair.

1765. Sept. 4, Benjamin Newcome to Sinecure R. of Cilcain.

1766. Oct. 11, Peter Newcome to Sinecure R. of Darowen.

„ „ „ Henry Newcome to Preb. of Llanfair.

when many of the Welsh clergy were giving way to evil habits, a goodly roll of quiet worthy men strove hard to counteract the evil. The circulating schools, instituted by Griffith Jones, vicar of Llanddowror, in St. David's diocese, proved of great service. The system adopted was to send a teacher for three months to a rotation of poor mountain parishes, and, after an interval, revisit the same. For carrying on the work he himself prepared a number of teachers. In many parishes in this diocese there had been schools long in existence, as shown by the benefaction tables; but in others this was probably the first step. Their great feature was religious education on the lines of the catechism and the prayer-book. Unfortunately, upon his death the funds which had been provided for securing the perpetuation of the work were thrown into Chancery, from which they only emerged in 1807. The work, however, had taken root, and helped to produce a result which the founder could little have contemplated. Many of the new masters had been recruited out of Non-conformist ranks, and a Calvinistic bias was given to the whole. And when afterwards Thomas Charles of Bala revived the work in the Sunday schools which he set on foot, these men, who had little or no Church sympathies, were among the first to urge the appointment of lay preachers, and so to separate into a denomination a religious movement which had arisen out of the Church itself, and had aimed hitherto at being a kind of church brigade or guild.¹

¹ "We do not intentionally dissent, nor regard ourselves as Dissenters from the Established Church. With regard to our

The history of the period is in many ways saddening. A great opportunity was lost, and may never recur; but the loss was not so wanton as is sometimes supposed. It was to the preaching of the Vicar of Llanddowror that Howel Harries and Daniel Rowlands of Llangeitho attributed their first vivid impressions of religion. These men were the founders of Welsh Methodism, and their fervid but sensational preaching was often followed by uncontrollable excitement of agony or joy; and they launched out terrible denunciations, not only against the prevailing vices, but also against some things that were in themselves innocent, if not praiseworthy. Other circumstances occurred at a critical time to incline the balance against them. "The propagation of Wesleyanism in the Principality," writes Mr. Rees, "to a great extent changed the style of preaching in the three leading denominations—the Independent, the Calvinistic Methodist, and the Antipædobaptist. In order to keep at a safe distance from Arminianism such a high

doctrinal position, we fully agree with the Articles of the Church of England. We only desire, with all humility, in that unity the full liberty (which the excellent form of our Government allows) of using all Scriptural means to extend the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ, whom he has sent; and thereby to build up ourselves in our most holy faith. What appears in our practice as tending towards Dissent has occurred from necessity, not from choice. It is not our purpose to create a schism, or a sect, or a party, God forbid; but our benefit and that of our countrymen. This is the mark to which we aspire through all means."—From the "Rules of the Private Societies among those called Methodists in Wales," agreed upon at Bala, June 15 and 16, 1801.

Calvinistic strain of preaching was adopted as tended to lead the people direct to the whirlpool of Antinomianism.”¹ This must have weighed heavily in the balance of conflicting reasons at the time; and it is curious that three quarters of a century from the date of their separation witnesses a not dissimilar divergence in the action that the denomination is taking in matters of present-day agitation. However, the separation did take place in 1811, when their lay preachers were ordained, and the old rule of receiving the Sacraments, both of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, at the hands of episcopally ordained clergy, was laid aside; and those clergy who had co-operated in the movement broke off their connexion rather than be partakers in the schism.

¹ “History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales,” first ed., p. 464.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRESENT CENTURY.

IF the last century was a period of spiritual apathy and decadence, the present has been one of re-awakening and progress. An improved tone and legislative measures arising therefrom have removed many obstructions and facilitated a more economical use of existing means, besides calling forth a very large amount of further voluntary aid. One by one, the evils of pluralities and non-residence have been removed and sinecures been abolished, while their income has been applied, partly to the improvement of the cures whence they were derived, partly towards the spiritual supply of poor and populous districts. Residence, promoted by the action of Queen Anne's bounty in making loans for building, has brought with it many improvements in both the spiritual and the temporal condition of the parishes; the restoration of the old parish churches and the erection of many new ones; the subdivision and re-arrangement of the old, and the formation of some sixty new, parishes; the general provision of national schools, in which great assistance has been given by the National Society—the erection of numerous mission-rooms and the supply of many additional clergy; so that, notwithstanding its linguistic difficulties and the isolation and poverty of a large

proportion of its parishes, this diocese is now, in material equipment, perhaps not far behind its most favoured English sisters. It would surely have been far otherwise if the unhappy provision of Act 6 and 7 William IV., ch. 77, s. 19, which ordered the union of the two sees of Bangor and St. Asaph, in order that the income of the one suppressed might be transferred to rich Manchester, had not been repealed. For this all North Wales is indebted mainly to the late Earl of Powis,¹ who led the opposition, and prevented so large and unwieldy an area, with its peculiar difficulties of language and locomotion, from being left to the supervision of only one bishop; and it has perpetuated its sense of this obligation in the foundation of the Powis Scholarship for the encouragement of candidates for the Welsh ministry.

Another clause of the same Act, the fortieth, provided for the re-arrangement of ecclesiastical patronage among the several Welsh bishops, and transferred from this diocese to those of

Llandaff	25	livings, of the annual value of	£8,000
St. David's	3	„ „ „	£1,200
Bangor	6	„ „ „	£1,400
Gloucester and Bristol	1	„ „ „	£300
<hr/>			
			£10,900
But handed over from Bangor	7	livings „ „	£2,247
<hr/>			
The result being	28	parishes transferred „ „	£8,653

¹ “Conservator Episcopatus Asaphensis” is the happy allusion on his effigy in Welshpool Church.

It is to be hoped that this transfer, which came into operation in the year 1862, has proved more beneficial to the two dioceses of South Wales than to our own, by enabling their bishops to exchange with the Crown and the Lord Chancellor some of the above livings for others within their own jurisdiction.

The Act 6 and 7 Victoria, ch. 77, "for regulating the cathedral churches in Wales," while it did not otherwise alter the existing canonries, yet it took away the slight payments that had hitherto been attached to them, and substituted four residentiary canonries with a stipend of £350 per annum to each, and at the same time provided that two of these should be permanently annexed to the archdeaconries. And in accordance with this provision the archdeaconry, which had been held *in commendam* from the time of Bishop William Hughes in 1573, was revived by an Order in Council in 1844, and subdivided into those of St. Asaph and Montgomery. To the former of these were assigned the four deaneries of Tegengyl, Rhos, Bromfield, and Marchia; to the latter the other four, viz., Pool and Caereinion, Cedewaun, Cyfeiliog and Mawddwy, and Penllyn and Edeirnion.

By another Order in the same year, gazetted February 4, 1845, the rural deanery of Bromfield was subdivided into Mold and Wrexham; that of Marchia, into Oswestry and Llangollen; Rhos, into Denbigh and Llanrwst; and Tegengyl, into St. Asaph and Holywell.

In 1849, July 30, considerable additions were

made to the extent of the diocese by the assignment to it of the Peculiar of Hawarden with its chapelries of Buckley, Broughton, and Penmynydd ; and by the transfer of Bangor-is-y-coed with Overton, Hanmer, Worthenbury, Bronington, Threapwood, Holt, and Isycoed from Chester ; of Kerry with Dolfor and Sarn, and Moughtre from St. David's, and of Buttington from Hereford. A further alteration was effected in 1859 by the transference of the deanery of "Dyffryn Clwyd and Kemerch" from the diocese of Bangor to the archdeaconry of St. Asaph in exchange for that of "Cyfeiliog and Mawddwy," from the archdeaconry of Montgomery. By another Order in Council dated June 29, 1882, the rural deaneries were re-arranged and increased in number from thirteen to sixteen by the formation of those of Bangor-is-y-coed, Caereinion and Rhos ; and the two archdeaconries were compacted by the exchange of Oswestry from St. Asaph, for Penllyn and Edeirnion from Montgomery. But as the archdeaconries were now very unevenly divided, another Order was procured December 31, 1886, by which Penllyn and Edeirnion was re-transferred and Llangollen added to the archdeaconry of Montgomery, so that it now comprises 88 parishes, with 112 clergy and 110 church schools ; whilst that of St. Asaph embraces 116 parishes, with 166 clergy and 155 schools.

The work of church-building and restoration has gone on progressing with remarkable steadiness from the establishment of the Diocesan Church Building Society in 1834. It has found munificent supporters in Bishops Carey and Short, and has been enabled

to make grants amounting to £24,967, thereby eliciting many times that sum from other sources towards the erection of 58 new churches, the rebuilding of 26, the restoration and improvement of 93 others, and the provision of 38 school and mission chapels. Besides which, no fewer than fifteen new churches have been built and six old parish churches rebuilt by the liberality of individual Churchmen. The cathedral, as the mother church of the diocese, has shared in this great movement, and, with the exception of the two transepts, has been excellently restored under the direction of the late Sir Gilbert Scott. It is calculated that the sum expended on this work throughout the diocese amounts to not less than £900,000.

By the re-arrangement of old parishes, no fewer than sixty-three new ones have been formed. A report made in 1835 states that there were then in the diocese 131 benefices, with a total rent-charge of £88,573 of which sum the parochial incumbents received £44,613, while ecclesiastical proprietors and colleges had £29,539, and lay proprietors £14,420. In 1861 the number of benefices was 187, of which 148 had glebe houses, an increase of 97 since 1835. At the present time the number of parishes is 207, of which only 13 are unprovided with a parsonage-house.

BUT it is not simply in its material organisation that the Church has made a great advance, but also in the increase of the living ministry. Many assistant-curates had been engaged in the diocese before ; but the very first year of the present episcopate (Bishop

Hughes) was signalised by the institution of two most useful societies. One of these, for "Church Extension," is for the purpose of helping to provide additional clergy in the larger and more populous parishes, whether Welsh or English, and especially where the co-existence of the two languages side by side involves double duties and a divided flock. The average number of additional clergy thus provided amounts to eighteen, and the total amount expended by it during sixteen years reaches £15,000, which has been supplied, in part by donations, and in part by subscriptions. The total number of Assistant Curates at present in the diocese is 86.

The other Society, the "Board of Education," was called into being through the Elementary Education Act of 1870, for the twofold purpose of helping to supply the deficiencies of accommodation and also of testing and improving the religious instruction imparted. The number of Church day-schools in the diocese is 262, of which all but one are open to inspection; and in them 80 assistant-teachers and 162 pupil teachers are employed. The number of scholars present at examination for the year ending April, 1886, was 22,270, and of these only 50 were withdrawn from all religious instruction, and 17 from a part thereof. The work of providing school buildings continues to go on with much steadiness, and in the last six years the sum of £14,234 has been so expended. The total number of grants made by the Board since its establishment in 1870 has been 57 for building, amounting to £2,278; and for aid in maintenance of 60 schools, £1,727.

Concurrently with this there has gone on a corresponding diligence in the performance of all pastoral duties, as well as a more reverent discharge of the spiritual offices of the Church. Retreats and Quiet Days for the clergy, missions for the laity, diocesan conferences for both in common, have all tended to produce a more earnest and united spirit of Church work. And although greater hostility and more bitterness have been shown against her, the Church has slowly, but steadily, been turning back the tide of prejudice, and is beginning to reap the fruits of the revived life of the last half-century. Two facts, from which her adversaries hoped great things, have recently emphasized this; viz., the Burials Amendment Act of 1880, and a so-called religious census, which has lately been held by the Nonconformists, of the attendances at church and chapel on Sunday, January 9, 1887, and which some of them denominate "disastrous," while others altogether repudiate it, and its prime mover himself professes to reject it. Another phase of the same agitation, organised against the payment of tithes, we may also hope to see over-ruled for good; and we believe that those who have been so sedulously prejudiced against the clergy and the Church will, after a while, become increasingly loyal when they realise the true character of the present movement. We cannot say positively what proportion her members bear to the whole population of the diocese; but she is far stronger than any one of the denominations, and, perhaps, not much behind the whole put together. Spiritually, too, she is beginning to recover her place

as, once more, the old Mother Church. And if there have been errors and sloth in the past, and threatening dangers in the present, there is abundant hope for the future. On this point the testimony of a "Welsh Nonconformist Minister," who claims to have "had the best opportunities for watching and estimating the relative progress of the Church and Dissent in Wales during recent years," may have more than ordinary weight when he gives his reasons, and then adds his "deliberately formed opinion that the Church is slowly but steadily gaining ground, and that this growth will continue and increase from year to year."

BISHOPS OF ST. ASAPH.

A.D.

- C. 560 CYNDEYRN (KENTIGERNUS).
C. 570 ASAPH.
C. 600 TYSILIO.
C. 800 RENCHIDUS.
C. 928 CEBUR.
C. 1070 MELANUS.
-

- 1143 GILBERT.
1152 GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.
1154 RICHARD.
1158 GODFREY.
1175 ADAM.
1183 JOHN I.
1186 REYNER.
1225 ABRAHAM.
1235 HUGH.
1240 HOWEL AP EDNYFED.
1249 ANIAN I.
1267 JOHN II.
1268 ANIAN II.
1293 LLEWELYN AP YNYR (DE BROMFIELD).
1314 DAVYDD AP BLEDDYN.
1352 JOHN TREVOR I.
1357 LLEWELYN AP MADOC.

A.D.

- 1376 WILLIAM DE SPRIDLINGTON.
 1382 LAWRENCE CHILD, LL.B.
 1390 ALEXANDER BACHE, S.T.P.
 1395 JOHN TREVOR II.
 1411 ROBERT DE LANCASTER.
 1433 JOHN LOWE, S.T.P.
 1444 REGINALD PECOCK, S.T.P. *Deposed 1449*
 1450 THOMAS KNIGHT.
 1471 RICHARD REDMAN, S.T.P.
 1495 MICHAEL DIACON, S.T.B.
 1500 DAVYDD AP IORWERTH.
 1503 DAVYDD AP OWEN, LL.D.
 1513 EDMUND BIRKHEAD, S.T.P.
 1518 HENRY STANDISH, S.T.P.
 1535 WILLIAM BARLOW, S.T.P.
 1536 ROBT. WARTON (or PARFEW), S.T.P.
 1555 THOMAS GOLDWELL, S.T.P.
 1558 THOMAS WOOD, S.T.P.
 1560 RICHARD DAVIES, S.T.P.
 1561 THOMAS DAVIES, S.T.P.
 1573 WILLIAM HUGHES, S.T.P.
 1601 WILLIAM MORGAN, S.T.P.
 1604 RICHARD PARRY, S.T.P.
 1624 JOHN HANMER, S.T.P.
 1629 JOHN OWEN, S.T.P. *Deposed by Pugh 1649
reded 1651*

 1660 GEORGE GRIFFITH, S.T.P.
 1667 HENRY GLEMHAM, S.T.P.
 1669 ISAAC BARROW, S.T.P.
 1680 WILLIAM LLOYD, D.D.
 1692 EDWARD JONES, D.D.

A.D.

- 1703 GEORGE HOOPER, D.D.
1704 WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, D.D.
1708 WILLIAM FLEETWOOD, DD.
1715 JOHN WYNNE, D.D.
1727 FRANCIS HARE, D.D.
1731 THOMAS TANNER, D.D.
1736 ISAAC MADDUX, D.D.
1743 JOHN THOMAS, D.D.
1743 SAMUEL LISLE, D.D.
1748 HON. ROBERT H. DRUMMOND, D.D.
1761 RICHARD NEWCOME, D.D.
1769 JONATHAN SHIPLEY, D.D.
1787 SAMUEL HALLIFAX, LL.D., D.D., F.S.A.
1790 LEWIS BAGOT, LL.D.
1802 SAMUEL HORSLEY, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1806 WILLIAM CLEAVER, D.D.
1815 JOHN LUXMOORE, D.D.
1830 WILLIAM CAREY, D.D.
1846 THOMAS VOWLER SHORT, D.D.
1870 JOSHUA HUGHES, D.D., elected April 17th,
consecrated May 8th, and enthroned
May 19th, 1870.

APPENDIX A.—ARCHDEACONRY OF ST. ASAPH.

ST. ASAPH RURAL DEANERY.

Parish. ¹	Dedication of Church.	Popula- tion.	Acreage.	Income.			Patron.
				Tithe Rent ² Charges	House and Glebe.	Nett. ³	
1 St. Asaph.....V	SS. Cyndeyrn and Asaph	2,219	3,440	(210 210 210 210	Ho. ... Ho. 4 E.C.	250 260 210 270	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2 Bodelwyddan .....V	S. Margaret	587	4,110	200	Ho. 4	200	Sir W. G. Williams, Bart.
3 Cefn .....R	S. Mary	502	2,850	292	E.C.	340	Bishop of St. Asaph.
	All Saints						
4 Cwm .....V	S.S. Mael & Sulien	418	4,500	364	Ho. 9	315	Bishop of Llandaff.
5 Disserth .....V	S. Ffraid	966	1,884	394	Ho. 19	335	Bishop of St. Asaph.
6 Gwaunysgor .....R	S. Mary	293	790	178	Ho. 6	170	Ditto.
7 Meliden .....V	S. Melyd	627	1,484	116	Ho. 1	...	Ditto.
8 Newmarket.....R	S. Michael	587	976	234	Ho. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	Ditto.
9 Prestatyn.....V	Christ Church	450	987	358	Ho. 8	300	Bishop and Crown <i>alt.</i>
10 Rhuddlan .....V	S. Mary { Holy Trinity ... S. Thomas	1,397 6,030	3,500 600	374 321	Ho. 33 Ho.	315 600	Bishop of St. Asaph, Ditto.
11 Rhyl.....V	{ St. John St. David						
Vale-rd. S. Ch	Corpus Christi	654	3,849	334	...	...	Ditto.
12 Tremeirchion .....V							

BANGOR-IS-Y-COED RURAL DEANERY.

1	Bangor Monach, R Eyton, S.C	S. Dinoh	1,099	5,592	701	Ho. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	505	Duke of Westminster, K.G.
2	Bettisfield	S. John Baptist. ...	363	1,928	314	Ho.	280	Sir W. E. Hanmer, Bart.
3	Bronington	Holy Trinity	674	4,850	...	Ho.	150	Ditto.
4	or, New Fenns							
4	Erbistock	S. Hilary	291	1,571	259	Ho.	27	D. & C. of Gloucester.
5	Hanner	S. Chad	1,337	7,300	270	Ho.	40	Sir W. E. Hanmer, Bart.
	Talarn Green, C	S. Mary Magdalene	...	...	*60	...	130	
6	Isycoed	S. Paul's	441	3,397	330	Ho.	300	D. & C. of Winchester.
7	Marchwail	S. Deiniol	598	3,105	676	Ho.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bishop of St. Asaph.
8	Overton	S. Mary's	1,125	4,365	551	Ho.	404	Duke of Westminster, K.G.
9	Threapwood	S. John's	326	250	...	Ho.	66	Bishop of Chester.
10	Worthenbury	S. Deiniol	481	3,279	400	Ho.	...	Sir R. Puleston, Bart.

¹ Under "Parishes" are added Licensed Churches, School Churches (S. Ch.), Schools (S.), and Mission Rooms (M.R.).

² Besides Tithe Rent Charges there are other sources, such as Rent of Farms (purchased with Queen Anne's Bounty and Subscriptions) and payments by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

³ For the "Nett" Income—Rates, Taxes, Tithes, and repayments to Queen Anne's Bounty are deducted, but not the Church Expenses, nor the stipend of Curates. E.C. = Grant by Eccles. Commissioners.

DENBIGH RURAL DEANERY.

Parish.	Dedication of Church.	Population.	Acreage.	Income.			Patron.
				Tithe.	Glebe.	Nett.	
1 Bodfari	R	800	4,762	320	Ho. 20	300	Bishop of Llandaff.
2 Bylchau	R	449	8,000	380	Ho. 1	320	Crown and Bishop of St. Asaph, <i>alt.</i>
3 Caerwys	R	804	2,603	425	Ho. 5	...	Bishop of Llandaff.
4 Denbigh, R, with Whitchurch, S. Hilary, S. David's, and S. Mary		5,500	1,772	465	Ho. $\frac{1}{4}$ a	452	Bishop of St. Asaph.
5 Henllan	R	880	...	350	Ho. 4	274	Bishop of St. Asaph.
6 Llandyrnog	R	473	3,223	670	Ho. 24	495	Bishop of St. David's.
7 Llangwyfan	R	206	1,073	257	Ho. 18	225	Bishop of Llandaff.
8 Llanrhaiadr	V	790	6,200	615	Ho. 17	503	Bishop of St. Asaph.
9 Llanefydd	V	876	7,444	260	Ho. 3	310	Ditto.
				F.C.82			
10 Llansannan	R	1,111	...	412	Ho. 4	344	Lord-Chancellor.
11 Naniglyn	V	518	6,014	...	Ho. $1\frac{1}{2}$	230	Bishop of St. Asaph.
12 Prion	V	573	6,000	...	...	300	Ditto.
13 Trefnant	R	666	...	377	Ho. 8	302	Crown and Bishop of St. Asaph, <i>alt.</i>

HOLYWELL RURAL DEANERY.

Parish.	Dedication of Church.	Popula- tion.	Acreage.	Income.			Patron.
				Tithe.	Glebe.	Nett.	
1 Bagillt .....P.C	S. Mary	3,357	3,077	144	Ho. 2	171	Vicar of Holywell.
2 Brynford	S. Michael	789	1,253	159	Ho. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	Bishop of St. Asaph.
3 Connah's Quay, S.	S. Mark	1,755	...	358	Ho.	320	Vicar of Northop.
4 Mark's .....V	S. Mary	5,020	...	363	Ho.	299	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Flint .....V	S. David						
with Pentre and	S. Thomas						
Flint Common	S. Paul	750	...	...	Ho. 2	300	Ditto.
5 Gorsedd	S. Mary	852	...	380	Ho. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	331	Bishop of Llandaff.
6 Halkin	S. Winifred	5,650	3,200	397	Ho. 40	407	Jesus College, Oxford.
7 Holywell .....V							
with Greenfield							
Chap.							
8 Llanasa .....V	SS. Asaph & Cyn- deyrn	2,689	...	358	Ho. 12	290	Bishop of St. Asaph.
9 Ffynnon Groyw P.C	All Saints .....	...	...	...	Ho.	250	Ditto.
10 Mostyn.....V	Ch. Ch.....	2,264	2,600	...	Ho. 4	292	Ditto.
11 Rhesycac .....V	Ch. Ch.....	607	...	228	Ho. 8	185	Ditto.
12 Whitford .....V	SS. Beuno & Mary	1,164	3,500	340	Ho. 6	330	Ditto.
13 Ysceiog .....R	S. Mary.....	1,179	5,857	727	Ho. 9	...	Bishop of Llandaff.

LLANRWST RURAL DEANERY.

	S. Garmon	831 1,424 1,477	...	280 251 176	Ho. Ho. 1½ ...	250 180 160	Bishop of St. Asaph. Bishop of Llandaff. Trustees.
1 Capel Garmon ...V	S. Martin	450	3,559	170	Ho. 29	200	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2 Eglwys Vach... ..V	S. David	471	3,100	207	Ho. 9	171	Ditto.
3 Eglwysrhos	S. Doget	242	693	178	Ho. 16½	200	Ditto.
<i>alias</i> Llanrhos	S. Digain	500	4,100	338	Ho. 20	...	Ditto.
Deganwy	S. Cystenyn	599	1,092	...	Ho. 5	250	Ditto.
4 Gwytherin	S. Grwst	3,650	*22,992	800	Ho.	656	Ditto.
5 Llanddewi							
6 Llanddloget							
7 Llangernyw							
8 Llangystenyn							
9 Llanrwst							
with S. Mary's Church							
10 Llansantffraid	S. Ffraid	1,148	5,021	399	Ho. 31 ac.	343	Ditto.
Glan Conway							
11 Pentrevoclas .....	...	487	...	..	Ho.	260	C. W. Wynne Finch, Esq.
12 Y'spyty Ifan	S. John	816	9,514	250	Ho.	230	Lord Penrhyn.

* Inclusive of Capel Garmon.

MOLD RURAL DEANERY.

Parish.	Dedication of Church.	Popula- tion.	Acreage.	Income.		Patron.
				Tithe.	Glebe.	
1 Bistre	Emmanuel	3,412	2,621	...	110.	Vicar of Mold.
2 Buckley	S. Matthew	2,778	...	...	110.	W. H. Gladstone, Esq.
Lane End M.R.						
3 Caerfallwch	S. Paul	850	...	247	110.	Bishop of St. Asaph.
4 Cilcain	S. Mary	528	...	344	110. 11	Lord Chancellor.
5 Erryrys	S. David	704	...	365	110. 27	Crown, & Bishop of St. Asaph, <i>all</i> .
6 Gwernaffield	Il. Trinity	1,000	1,689	...	110.	Vicar of Mold.
7 Hawarden	S. Deiniol	5,623	17,281	2,878	110. 106	W. H. Gladstone, Esq.
Broughton	S. Mary	620				
Pennynydd	S. John					
Sealand	S. Bartholomew ..	400				
Sandycroft	S. Ambrose					
Shotton	S. Ethelwold					
S.C.	S. Winifred's					
8 Illope	S. Cynfarch	2,612	5,070	431	110. 4	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Cynmau Church						
9 Llanferres .....	...	777	3,738	324	110. 16	Bishop of Llandaff.
10 Mold	S. Mary	6,037	4,105	330	110.	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Welsh Ch.	S. David					
Gwernynydd S.C.						
Gwysaney	S.C.					

11	Nannerch.....R	S. Michael	346	2,900	327	Ho.	9	275	Bishop of St. Asaph.
12	Nerquis	S. Mary.....	1,093	2,280	43	Ho.		120	Vicar of Mold.
13	Northop	S.S. Eurgam & Peter	1,517	...	500	Ho.	4	400	Bishop of St. Asaph.
14	East Northop M.R	Ch. Ch.....	3,000	1,640	...	Ho.		130	Vicar of Mold.
15	Pont Bleiddyn.....V	S. John the Evan- gelist	639	2,250	364	Ho.	2	300	Bishop of St. Asaph.
16	Leeswood ....S.C	S. Mary.....	1,690	3,554	63	Ho.	42	145	Ditto.
	Rhydyrnwyn								
	Tryddyn								

RHOS RURAL DEANERY.

1	Abergele	S. Michael	2,800	6,151	490	Ho.	1	380	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2	with Pensarn C								
3	Beltws	S. Michael	465	...	399	Ho.	5	300	Bishop of Llandaff.
4	Colwyn	S. Catherine.....	1,000	...	395	Ho.		300	Vicar of Llandrillo.
5	Llanddulas	H. Trinity	630	1,020	...	Ho.	5	267	Bishop of St. Asaph.
6	Llandrillo	S. Trillo	2,000	...	397	Ho.	7	325	Ditto.
7	with Colwyn Bay C	S. Paul	483	...	327	Ho.	3	300	Ditto.
8	Llanellian.....R	S. Eleri.....	1,183	11,949	386	Ho.	7	340	Ditto.
9	Llanfair Talhaiarn R	S. Mary							
10	Pont y Gwyddel Ch.								
11	Llysfaen	S. Cynfran	1,009	1,790	367	Ho.	18	320	Ditto.
12	S. George	S. Sior	318	2,286	298	Ho.		267	H. R. Hughes, Esq.
13	Towyn	S. Mary	450	2,239	307	Ho.		255	R. B. Hesketh, Esq.
14	Trofath	S. John	419	...	315	Ho.	42	215	Bishop of St. Asaph.

WRENHAM RURAL DEANERY.

Parish.	Dedication of Church.	Popula- tion.	Acreage.	Income.			Patron.
				Tithe.	Glebe.	Nett.	
1 Berse .....	... ..	...	...	107	Ho.	80	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2 Brymbo	S. Mary.....	7,097	3,226	...	Ho.	6	Vicar of Wrexham.
3 Bwlchgwyn .....	... ..	1,191	1,500	...	...	142	Bishop of St. Asaph.
4 Esclusham	H. Trinity	1,361	...	...	Ho.	300	Ditto.
5 Gresford	All Saints	1,934	6,150	587	Ho.	47	Ditto.
6 Gwersyllt.....	Burton S	3,943	2,192	359	Ho.	307	Vicar of Gresford.
7 Holt	H. Trinity	1,023	2,730	312	Ho.	53	D. and C. of Winchester.
8 Llanfynydd	S. Chad.....	1,180	4,100	349	Ho.	7	Vicar of Hope.
9 Minera	Ch. Ch.....	5,106	4,740	...	Ho.	290	Vicar of Wrexham.
10 Penycæ .....	... ..	2,786	...	...	...	200	Bishop of St. Asaph.
11 Rhos Llaner- chrugog	S. Thomas	5,482	...	284	Ho.	3½	Crown & Bp. of St. As. <i>all.</i>
12 Rhos-y-Medre.....	S. John Evangelist	4,494	2,000	144	Ho.	135	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.
13 Rhuabon .....	... ..	2,448	...	606	Ho.	28	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Wynnstay Ch. S	S. Mary						

14	Rossett.....V Lavister M.R	Christ Ch.....	1,500	4,483	275	Ho. 4	300	Trustees.
15	Wrexham .....V S. Mark's..... Hightown..... Rhodesney M.R	S. Silin S. Mark S. John's.....	14,009	...	630	Ho. 9	740	Bishop of St. Asaph.
16	Rhosddu.....	S. James					300	Bp. of St. Asaph.
17	Bersham .....P.C	S. Mary's						T. Ll. Fitzhugh.

ARCHDEACONRY OF MONTGOMERY.

CAEDEWAIN RURAL DEANERY.

1	Aberhafesp .....R	S. Gwynog	462	4,568	306	Ho. 15	256	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2	Bettws .....V	S. Beuno	500	4,000	230	Ho. 4	193	Lord Chancellor.
3	Dolfor .....V	S. Paul	360	6,000	297	Ho. 1	229	Bishop of St. David's.
4	Kerry .....V	S. Michael	1,177	9,000	650	Ho. 76	458	Ditto.
5	Llandyssil .....R	S. Tyssil	830	4,070	469	Ho. 14	410	D. and C. of Gloucester.
6	Llanllwchaiaarn ...V	S. Llwehaiaarn	2,700	4,330	252	Ho. 87	306	Bishop of St. Asaph.
7	Llanmerewig .....R	S. Llwehaiaarn	158	1,000	132	Ho. 8	...	Bishop of Llandaff.
8	Dolforwyn Sch. Ch.	All Saints	512	5,500	250	Ho. 186	218	Bishop of St. Asaph.
9	Mochdre .....V	S. Mary	3,500	2,736	512	Ho. 4	367	Ditto.
10	Newtown .....R	Holy Trinity.....	687	6,055	...	Ho. 1½	330	Bishop of St David's.
11	Tregynon.....R	S. Cynon	702	6,300	90	...	160	Lord Sudeley.

CAEREINION RURAL DEANERY.

Parish.	Dedication of Church.	Popula- tion.	Acreage.	Income.			Patron.
				Tithe.	Glebe.	Nett.	
1 Dolanog	S. John Evangelist	333	...	159	Ho. 1	143	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2 Garthbeibio	S. Tydecho... ..	500	12,500	201 *22	Ho. 9½	200	Ditto.
3 Llanerfyl	S. Erfyl	758	15,495	400	Ho. 25	362	Lord Chancellor.
4 Llanfair	S. Mary	2,400	15,180	314	Ho. 72	295	Bishop of St. Asaph.
5 Llangadvan	S. Cadvan	472	...	302	Ho. 26	280	Ditto.
6 Llangynyw	S. Cynyw	340	...	394	Ho. 30	390	Lord Chancellor.
7 Llanllugan .....	... ..	300	3,945	...	Ho. 6½	92	Lords of the Manor.
8 Llanwyddelan	S. Gwyddelan	463	...	254	Ho. 50	...	Bishop Llandaff.
9 Manafon	S. Michael	627	6,626	470	Ho. 8½	380	Bishop of St. Asaph.
10 Meifod	SS. Tyssilio and Mary	920	7,350	510	Ho. 12	392	Ditto.
11 Pont Robert	S. John Evangelist	525	...	243	Ho. 4	218	Ditto.

LLANFVLLIN RURAL DEANERY.

1	Bwlchycibau	V	Christ Church	400	3,098	292	Ho. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	250	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2	Hirnant .....	...R	S. Illog.....	241	4,000	259	Ho. 10	217	Ditto.
3	Llanarmon M.M. V		S. Garmon	152	2,218	10	Ho. 31	84	Vicar of Llanrhaiadr.
4	Llanfechain	R	S. Garmon	581	...	562	Ho. 32	485	Bishop of Llandaff.
5	Llanfihangel	R	S. Michael	483	...	401	Ho. 1	356	Lord Chancellor.
6	Llanfyllin.....	R	S. Myllin	1,700	7,945	650	Ho.	540	Bishop of St. Asaph.
7	Llangedwyn	V	S. Cedwyn	369	2,027	176	...	232	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.
8	Llangynog	R	S. Cynog	738	...	240	Ho. 5	175	Bishop of St. Asaph.
	with Melangell C		S. Melangell						
9	Llanrhaiadr	V	S. Dogfan.....	2,164	23,000	535	Ho. 17	460	Ditto.
10	Llansantffraid	V	S. Ffraid	981	...	300	Ho.	254	Ditto.
11	Llanwddyn	V	S. John Baptist ..	3,000	...	153	Ho. 18	253	Earl of Powis.
12	Llwydiarth	V	S. Mary	309	...	215	Ho.	169	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.
13	L'ennant	V	S. Thomas	496	...	271	Ho. 30	284	Bishop of St. Asaph.

LLANGOLLEN RURAL DEANERY.

Parish.	Dedication of Church.	Popula- tion.	Acreage.	Income.		Patron.
				Tithe.	Glebe.	
1 Bryneglwys	S. Tysilio	361	3,343	207	Ho.	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart. Bishop of St. Asaph.
2 Chirk	S. Mary	2,100	4,649	510	Ho. 1	
Halton M.R. Pentre S. Ch. 3 Llanarmon D.						
4 Ceiriog	S. Garmon	287	9,305	209	Ho. 26	Bishop of Llandaff. Bishop of St. Asaph.
5 Llangollen	S. Collen	5,129	6,400	437	Ho. 15	
with St. John's " Eglwyseg S. Ch " Fron Cyssyllte Ch 6 Llangantfrid Glyn Ceiriog V] Nantyr S	S. John S. Mary S. David S. Ffraid	700	5,125	150	Ho. 23	Lord Trevor.
6 Llantysilio	S. Tysilio	980	7,920	...	Ho.	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart. Vicar of Llangollen. Lord Trevor.
7 Pontfadog	S. John	918	6,675	60	Ho. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
8 St. Martin's	S. Martin	1,093	2,900	261	Ho. 60	...
Ifton Heath S						
9 The Lodge	S. John	1,674	2,484	...	...	Ditto.
10 Trevor .....	... ..	1,500	...	...	...	Rice Thomas, Esq.

OSWESTRY RURAL DEANERY.

1	Aston	Christ Chapel .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	Colonel Lloyd.
2	Hengoed	S. Barnabas	778	...	...	...	Ho. 4	85	Rev. R. A. Lloyd.
3	Frankton	S. Andrew	515	...	170	...	Ho.	100	R. Whittington and Earl Brownlow, <i>alt.</i> Earl of Bradford.
4	Kinnerley	S. Mary's	1,375	5,880	160	Ho. 35		244	
	Maesbrook Ch.	S. John.							Ditto.
5	Knockin	S. Mary's	264	...	328	...		294	
6	Llangadwaladr ...	S. Cadwaladr	450	2,793	...	Ho. 26		194	Bishop of St. Asaph.
7	Llansilin	S. Silin	1,407	12,735	320	Ho. 5		280	Ditto.
	Fronheulog M.Ch.								
8	Llanyblodwel	S. Michael	800	...	300	Ho. 23		250	Ditto.
	Porthywaun S.C								
9	Llanymynech	S. Agatha	1,069	2,500	386	Ho. 22		340	Ditto.
10	Melverley	S. Peter	180	1,445	180	Ho. 10		104	Ditto.
11	Morton	SS. Philip & James	863	2,981	...	Ho. 12		600	Lord Chancellor.
	Pant M.R								
12	Oswestry	S. Oswald	5,610	...	540	Ho.		586	Earl of Powis.
	Welsh Ch.	S. David's.							
	Castle Fields M.R								
13	Holy Trinity	S. Ann.							
	Ho. of Industry	H. Trinity	4,200	...	...	Ho.		293	Vicar of Oswestry.
	Maesbury S.C								
14	Rhydycroesau	Christ Ch.	400	...	290	Ho. 9		250	Bishop of St. Asaph.
15	Selattyn	S. Mary	650	...	813	Ho. 85		713	Colonel Lloyd.
	Pantglas S.C								
16	Trefonen .....	...	1,239	...	118	Ho. 6		231	Earl of Powis.
17	Whittington	S. John Evangelist	1,555	...	955	Ho. 58		...	Colonel Lloyd.
	Ebnal Chapel								
	Hindford M.R								

Parish.	Dedication of Church.	Popula- tion.	Acreage.	Income.			Patron.
				Tithe.	Glebe.	Nett.	
1 Bettws G. G. ....R	S. Mary.....	252	1,757	172	Ho. 13	148	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2 Cerrigydrudion ...R	S. Mary Magdalen	1,157	8,058	352	Ho. 82 *110	0 0	Ditto.
3 Corwen, R, with Rhug. Chap.	SS. Mael & Sulien	1,878 ...	... ...	489 ...	Ho. 32 ...	447 70	Ditto. Hon. C. H. Wynn.
4 Frongoch.....V	S. Mark	527	...	96	Ho. 1	105	Bishop of St. Asaph.
5 Glydyfrdwy .....V	S. Thomas	626	3,096	230	...	197	Ditto.
6 Gwyddelwern .....V	S. Beuno	775	...	146	Ho. 5	123	Ditto.
7 Llandderfel.....R	S. Derfel	1,059	...	322	Ho. 14	252	Llandaff.
8 Llandrillo .....V	S. Trillo	776	28,000	329	Ho. 10	280	Bishop of St. Asaph.
9 Llanfihangel G.M. R	S. Michael	426	...	200	Ho. 10	160	Ditto.
10 Llanfor.....R	S. Mor	551	...	298	Ho.	258	Ditto.
11 Llangar, R, with Cynwyd	All Saints & S. John Evangelist.....	750	5,092	235	Ho. 5	185	Ditto.
12 Llangower .....R	S. Cywair	322	3,715	180	Ho. 10	160	Ditto.
13 Llangwm V, with Dinmael	S. Jerome	856	1,0578	319	Ho. 47	267	Ditto.
14 Llansantffraid .....R	S. Catherine.....	...	...	...	...	...	Ditto.
15 Llanauchllyn .....V	S. Ffraid	372	...	191	Ho. 60	...	Ditto.
16 Llanycil, R, with Ch. Ch., Bala	S. Deiniol.....	1,200	12,000	...	...	258	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.
17 Llawr y Bettws .....V	S. Beuno	2,883	12,868	320	Ho. 7	240	Bishop of St. Asaph.
18 Rhosygwalia .....V	Christ Church .....	...	...	...	...	...	Ditto.
	S. Jamesthe Greater	504	...	118	...	110	Heirs of Rev. W. Cleaver.
	H. Trinity	330	...	158	Ho. 1	140	

POOL RURAL DEANERY.

1 Berriew V Fron S.C Vaenor S.C Pantyyffridd S.C	S. Beuno	1,929	12,010	446	Ho. 1	371	Bishop of St. Asaph.
2 Buttington V Trewern Chap.	All Saints	690	5,500	...	Ho.	170	Vicar of Welsh Pool.
3 Castle Caereinion R	S. Garmon	709	6,540	640	Ho. 16	620	Lord Chancellor.
4 Guilsfield	{ S. Tysilio and All Saints.....	1,590	12,150	351	Ho. 13	220	Bishop of St. Asaph.
5 Llandrinio	S. Trinio	614	3,865	556	Ho. 40	542	Ditto.
6 Llandysilio	S. Tysilio	611	...	418	Ho. 20	396	Bishop of St. David's.
7 Penrhos	H. Trinity.....	839	4,000	161	Ho. 5	217	Lord Harlech.
8 Pool Quay	S. John Evangelist	390	3,000	218	Ho.	267	Earl of Powis.
9 Welsh Pool	S. Mary	5,183	7,045	295	Ho.	...	Bishop of St. Asaph.
with Christ Church Belan S. Ch. Gungrog S.	Christ Church .....	...	...	...	...	...	Earl of Powis.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF BENEFICES.

A.—Transferred from Bishop of St. Asaph to Bishop of Llandaff.

	Benefices.		County.	£
*	Bettws Caedewaun	Vicar	Montgomery ...	211
	Bettws in Rhos	„	Denbigh	333
	Bodfari.....	Rector	Flintshire	296
	Caerwys	„	„	425
*	Castle Caereinion	„	Montgomery ...	575
	Cwm	Vicar	Flintshire	273
	Eglwys Rhos	Rector	Carnarvon.....	167
	Eglwys Fach	Vicar	Denbigh	220
**	Erbistock	Rector	Denb. & Flint.	254
	Halkin	„	Flintshire... ..	312
	Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog	„	Denbigh	250
	Llandderfel	„	Merioneth	260
	Llandyssil	„	Montgomery ...	373
	Llanferres.....	„	Denbigh	313
*	Llanfihangel yng Nghwnfa	„	Montgomery ...	334
*	Llangynyw	„	„	504
	Llanmerewig	„	„	133
	Llanwyddelan	„	„	176
***	St. Martin's.....	Vicar	Salop	320
*	Morton.....	P.C.	„	669
	Ysgeifiog	Rector	Flintshire	700
	Dylife	P.C.	Montgomery ...	113
	Llanbrynmair	Vicar	„	330
	Penegoes ..	Rector	„	250
	Llanfechain	„	„	562

B.—Transferred from Bishop of St. Asaph to Bishop of St. David's.

*	Llanerfyl	Rector	Montgomery ...	435
	Llandysilio	P.C.	„	430
*	Llansannan	Vicar	Denbigh	376

C.—Transferred from Bishop of St. Asaph to Bishop of Bangor.

Benefices.		County.	£
Cemmaes	Rector	Montgomery ...	288
Darowen	Vicar	„	155
Llanwrin	Rector	„	272
Llanymawddwy ...	„	Merioneth	218
Mallwyd	„	Montg. & Mer.	255
Machynlleth	„	Montgomery ...	230

D.—Transferred from Bishop of Bangor to Bishop of St. Asaph.

Efenechtyd	Rector	Denbighshire	200
Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd	„	„	340
Llanelidan	„	„	252
Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd ...	Vicar	„	261
Llanrhaiadr in Kinmerch	„	„	} 609
Cum Prion	P.C.	„	
Llanychan	Rector	„	170
Llanynys	Vicar	„	} 415
Cum Gyffylliog	C.	„	

E.—Transferred from Bishop of Bangor to Bishop of Llandaff.

Clocaenog	Rector	Denbighshire	376
Llangwyfan	„	„	257
Llangynhafal	„	„	400
* Llanfwrog	„	„	456

F.—Transferred from Bishop of Bangor to Bishop of St. David's.

Derwen	Rector	Denbighshire	341
Llandyrnog	„	„	670

G.—Cilcain ; Vicar, Flintshire, transferred from Bishop of St. Asaph to Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, has been re-exchanged.

By subsequent exchanges made by the respective bishops for benefices within their own dioceses, those marked

* have been transferred to the Lord Chancellor.

** „ „ „ Dean and Chap. of Gloucester.
 *** „ „ „ Lord Trevor.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF CHURCHES BUILT, REBUILT, OR RESTORED
THROUGH THE MUNIFICENCE OF INDIVIDUALS.

I.—New Churches.

By.

Bersham, St. Mary's, 1876	T. Lloyd Fitzhugh, Esq.
Bettisfield, St. John Baptist, 1878	Lord Hanmer.
Bodelwyddan, St. Margaret, 1860	Lady Willoughby de Broke.
Bryn, Rhuabon, in progress.....	P. Ormrod, Esq.
Hengoed, St. Barnabas, 1849	Rev. A. R. Lloyd.
Llwydiarth, St. Mary, 1854.....	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart., M.P.
Maesbrook, Kinnerley, 1878	Misses Croxon.
Oswestry Union, St. Ann's	Hon. Mrs. Stapleton-Cotton.
Penygloddfa, Llanllwchaiaia, un- dertaken	Sir Pryce Pryce Jones.
Pool Quay, St. John Evangelist, 1863	Earl of Powis.
Rhosygwalia, Holy Trinity, (1) 1836	Rev. W. Cleaver
Rhosygwalia, Holy Trinity, (2) 1880	H. T. Richardson, Esq.
Rhosymedre, 1837.....	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart., M.P.
Southsea	Rev. M. Hamer.
Towyn, St. Mary's, 1873	R. Bamford Hesketh, Esq.
Trefnant, Holy Trinity, 1855	Mrs. and Mr. Townshend Mainwaring.

II.—Old Parish Churches Rebuilt.

Erbistock, St. Hilary, 1861	Mrs. Boates.
Halkin, St. Mary, 1878	Duke of Westminster, K.G.
Llanbedr, St. Peter, 1863.....	John Jesse, Esq.
Llanddulas, Holy Trinity, 1869 ...	R. Bamford Hesketh, Esq.
Pentre Voelas, 1857	C. W. G. Wynne, Esq.
Llangedwyn, St. Cedwyn, 1869 ...	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart., M.P.

APPENDIX D.—ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

Name.	Founder.	Other Benefactors.	Income. £ s. d.	Exhibitions and Scholarships.
St. Asaph .....1548	Old Cathedral School	...	70 0 0	Five Scholarships of £6 each, tenable at the School.*
Bala .....1712	Rev. Ed. Meyricke...	...	166 0 0	Free Scholarships tenable at the School.
Denbigh .....1661	K. Chas. II. Charter	Mr. R. Lloyd, 1726...	60 0 0	Five Scholarships of £6 each, tenable at the School.*
Deytheur 1690	Hon. A. Newport ...	...	120 0 0	Free to Boys resident within the Hundred of Deytheur.
Hawarden .....1606	Mr. Geo. Ledsham ...	Mr. R. Brereton, 1630	24 0 0	Four Free Scholarships.
Llanrwst .....1613	Sir John Wynne	Mr. John Williams ...	800 0 0	Ten Scholarships of £10 each, tenable at the School.†
Oswestry .....1407	David Holbache .....	...	260 0 0	An Exhibition to a Boy after two years in the School going to any University.
Rhuabon .....1703	Vicar Robinson	Mr. Ellis Lloyd, 1712	150 0 0	Scholarships to the amount of £180 p. a., tenable at the Universities.
Ruthin .....1574	Gabr. Goodman, D.D., Dean of Westminster	Godfrey Goodman, D.D., Bp. of Gloucester, 1655	335 5 0	
		Rev. Ed. Lloyd, of Ripple, Kent, 1740	220 0 0	
Wrexham .....1603	Mr. V. Broughton ...	Mrs. Gwen Eyton Rev. Ralph Weld Lady D. Jeffreys	48 0 0	

* Founded by Hugh Davies Griffith, Esq., of Caerhun, for boys from the Public Elementary Schools.

† For boys from Public Elementary Schools.

APPENDIX E.—CHURCH PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE DIOCESE.

SUMMARY FOR 1886.

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ST. ASAPH.

DEANERIES.	Teachers.		Assistant Teachers.	Pupil Teachers.		State of Schools.				On Books.	Average.	Present at Examination.	Withdrawn from Rel. Inst.	
	Certified.	Uncertified.		Emp.	Rec. Ins.	Ex. or Good.	Fair or mod.	Imp. or bad.	Total.				All.	Part.
St. Asaph	19	..	4	6	6	13	6	..	19	1,666	1,214	1,312	8	..
Bangor-is-y-Coed ..	13	1	5	9	6	11	3	..	14	1,108	825	961	5	..
Denbigh	12	..	3	11	10	7	5	..	12	1,356	914	1,078	..	..
Dyffryn Clwyd	7	..	4	4	4	6	1	..	7	765	562	605	..	4
Holywell	15	1	12	16	16	10	6	..	16	2,593	2,060	2,231	..	..
Llangollen	14	1	5	4	3	7	8	..	15	1,702	1,165	1,244	1	..
Llanrwst	10	..	3	5	4	8	2	..	19	1,065	724	935	4	..
Mold	31	1	11	34	34	22	10	..	32	4,100	2,941	3,292	19	..
Penllyn and Edeirnton ..	13	2	2	5	5	10	5	..	15	1,074	777	871	..	..
Rhos	13	..	5	8	3	8	5	..	13	1,420	1,017	1,205	..	..
Wrexham	27	3	11	39	39	23	7	..	30	3,825	2,604	3,103	2	3
Caedwen	11	2	4	4	4	10	3	..	13	1,263	981	1,070	..	9
Caereinion	9	..	1	2	2	4	5	..	9	673	436	522	..	..
Llanfyllin	12	..	..	1	1	4	8	..	12	1,001	610	685	..	..
Oswestry	26	..	8	9	9	19	7	..	27*	2,352	1,721	1,938	..	1
Pool	18	..	2	8	7	14	4	..	18	1,586	1,135	1,218	11	..
	250	11	80	162	153	176	85	..	262	27,549	19,686	22,270	50	17

* One not examined.

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ERRATA.

- Page 52, line 4 from bottom, *for* "Vicar Choral," *read* "Vicars-Choral."
- „ 55, line 25, *for* "Doncaster," *read* "Lancaster."
- „ 62, line 4, *before* "dues" *insert* "tithes," and remove it from the following line.
- „ 87, line 13, *for* "Llanarmen," *read* "Llanarmon."
- „ 91, "Non-Jurors" *for* "non-jurors."

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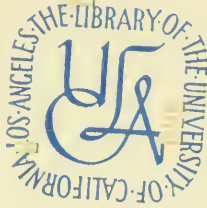
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